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Thomas Wood

SULLY

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[LENNOX (Mrs. Charlotte R.)]

M E M M O I R S

O F

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
D U K E O F S U L L Y,

PRIME MINISTER TO
H E N R Y T H E G R E A T.

CONTAINING

The History of the L I F E and R E I G N of that M O N A R C H,
And his own A D M I N I S T R A T I O N under Him.

Translated from the F R E N C H, by the Author of the
F E M A L E Q U I X O T E.

To which is added, the Tryal of R A V A I L L A C for the
Murder of H E N R Y the G R E A T.

I N F I V E V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R, and J. DODSLEY,
in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLVII.

M E M O I R S

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETTHUNE

DUKE OF SULLY

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT

CONTAINING

The History of the Life and Reign of that Monarch
And his own Administration under him



Translated from the French by the Author of the
FEMALE QUARTER

To which is added, the List of his Works for the
Monarch of Henry the Great

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

L O N D O N

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand, by J. and J. DODDLEY,
in Pall Mall; and W. BARNARD, in New Bond Street.

MDCCLXII.

To the High, Puissant, and Most Noble PRINCE

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of NEWCASTLE, Marquis and Earl of CLARE,

Viscount HAUGHTON, and Baron PELHAM of Laughton,

AND BARONET,

One of his Majesty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middlesex, Westminster, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Forest of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-House, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, First Lord Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, LL. D. and F. R. S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted with great solemnity, to the use of those who cannot use them, and the pleasure of those whom they cannot please.

DEDICATION.

That I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE these MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whose affairs you have so long and so happily directed, will bear me witness: But then, I can claim no praise from my own discernment; because I only echo the Voice of the People, and address myself, where that leads me.

Though my sex and manner of life make me a stranger to public affairs; I yet discover of myself, that the History I have translated, is not only interesting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well versed in all the prime operations of government, but that he saved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and administering the whole with the most accurate economy.

A Book, thus filled with political wisdom, could be fitly offered only to him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the same tendency; and for the service of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

That Providence may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your Grace may
steer

DEDICATION.

steer not only safely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the present conjuncture, are wishes so natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundest Respect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's most Obedient,

London,
Sept. 5, 1755.

and most Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
F R E N C H E D I T I O N.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongst our best books, I have no need to enter here into a disquisition which will be of little use to those who are acquainted with the work.

To give those an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be sufficient to tell them, that it contains a history of whatever has passed from the peace in 1570, to the first year of Lewis XIII. during a space of forty years, which is a time that has supplied the most copious subjects to the historians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to speak more properly, almost of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They presuppose, indeed, some knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occasionally mentioned; but it displays all the succeeding events with the utmost particularity. The events are equally numerous and diversified; wars, foreign and civil; interests of state and religion; master-strokes of policy; unexpected discoveries; struggles of ambition; stratagems of policy; embassies and negotiations;

ations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greatest value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which scarcely belong to the province of history; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all subjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can desire to insert; and they are not subject to the burthen imposed upon history, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himself disgusted.

To obtain a complete knowledge of any prince, it is necessary that the picture of his private life be set to view, together with his public conduct; he must be shown with his courtiers and domestics, in those moments when he is little observed: his character must be fixed by his letters and conversation; the passions are better displayed by a single word, related as it was spoke, than by all the art which a historian can use. This idea of memoirs is quite answered by those of Sully; so that no man, till he has perused them, can have a just conception of Henry IV. They represent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come still lower, as a husband, father, or friend; and all told in so affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the most minute and indifferent incident of his life: at most, I can
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only except some military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a small number of other passages less pleasing; though, on the other hand, these recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diversified, like the rest, with the part which was born in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the second actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of interest, because this minister says almost nothing of himself, which has not some relation to public affairs, or the person of his master. The reader will, doubtless, be pleased to know what judgment was formed of these Memoirs when they first appeared in the world, and I shall give him information from the author of an old discourse, to be found among the MSS. * of the king's library: " One of the most
 " beautiful pictures of human prudence and
 " fidelity, says he, is to be found in the ac-
 " count left to the public, in two volumes,
 " by the duke of Sully, of the nature of the
 " advice he had given, and the services he
 " had done, to his king and benefactor, as
 " well for his particular and personal honour,
 " as for the prosperity of his kingdom. And,
 " in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great,
 " and the virtue of his prime minister, are
 " two things which appear alternately, or,
 " more properly, go hand in hand. The mi-
 " nister, in this work, serves and obliges the
 " king, in all the ways that a king can receive

* Vol. 9590.

“ service or obligation from a subject, with
 “ his hand, his courage, his sword, and even
 “ with his blood, or actions of bravery and
 “ adventure, but particularly in his council
 “ and cabinet, with the greatest understand-
 “ ing, and most quick-sighted policy, the
 “ most pure disinterestedness, and untainted
 “ sincerity, that has ever been known to his-
 “ torians, either of our own or other coun-
 “ tries.”

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like
 Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep
 politicians, and skilful ministers; but we are
 surprized to find in one man, the warrior, the
 politician, the wise manager of business, the
 steady and unbending friend, as well as the
 close confidant and darling of his master. But
 what is yet more uncommon, is to see in a
 work where the actions of two such extra-
 ordinary persons are collected after their deaths,
 a great king forced to make a conquest of his
 own kingdom, engaged with a minister, in his
 way, not less great, in contriving means to
 make his undertakings successful; labouring
 afterwards, in concert with him, to make his
 kingdom not only peaceable but flourishing,
 regulating the revenue, laying the foundation
 of trade, methodizing the government, and,
 in short, recovering every part of the esta-
 blishment from confusion.

In this work therefore are comprized two
 lives united together, and illustrating and adorn-
 ing one another, the lives of a king and a mi-
 nister, his confidant nearly of the same age,
 carried on from the infancy of both to the
 death

death of the king, and to the retreat of the minister.

We may add that these Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, schemes, and regulations, of almost every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is said, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever discovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but considered in their own nature inconsistent, the increase of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good subject and an incorruptible minister, must look for it in this picture, where he will see œconomy in its full lustre, and policy in all its practice; the art of using and of gaining power; the science of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the finest instructions and most forceable examples of morality are here exhausted, and the whole supported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the highest arts to the mechanic occupations.

However high this praise may seem, I do not find that the severest critics depart much from it; one need only consult the abbot Le-Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le-Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the first political treatise that has shewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the seeds of what-
ever

ever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the best school of the art of government?

I will now quit this consideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleasure which so valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries useless to the greater part of readers.

This is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of style; the subjects lie here in great confusion; those who have ranged them propose to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domestic affairs; but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the distance, sometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the first volume, one must often jump to the end of the second; the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inserted in the story, are bundled up together and put by themselves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the discourse, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a distant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independant note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of business, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to say, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffused, obscured frequently by the enormous protraction of the sentences, and frequently by the impropriety of
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the words, which are sometimes creeping and low, and sometimes swelled with ridiculous magnificence.

These two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one should have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of some of our best writers, to make that book agreeable, which is so interesting and useful; the other, because what they have good arises from the subject, and what is wrong consists only in the form in which they are shewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this must be excepted from the number of those old books, which cannot be altered without being spoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of such an undertaking: and I confess that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondness for the original, which brings the passions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obstacles that may oppose us; for, to accommodate such a work as this to the present taste, a man must preserve at once the fidelity of a translator, and the liberty of a composer: he must carefully preserve the sense of his author, tho' he must abridge, transpose, and methodise his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which should reach no farther than to change those expressions, which are confessedly bad, and to retrench those that are apparently superfluous, would have been short of the reformation which the style requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the scattered parts of the story together, and methodise those things

things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confusion, even this must have ended in the destruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the necessity of taking the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I saw, at last, that no other way would answer my intention: I was convinced that a style so faulty as that of these *Memoirs*, was far from deserving to be treated with the same respect as that of *Comines*, *Montagne*, and *Amyot*: that the mere general alterations, which are confessedly necessary, would change it so much from its present state, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that these alterations, producing a necessity of connections and transitions which would naturally be of a different cast of language from the rest, many patches of new style appearing in these pages of antiquity, would have been a disagreeable and dissimular mixture: and that the original must not only be cleared from a great number of odd expressions, but of unnatural and unusual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous singularity in the very title, *Oeconomies Royales*, & *Servitudes Loyales*: that such liberties as I have taken was necessary, in order to arrive at a just chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was consistent enough with the obligation of preserving the sense of the original, and suffering the *Memoirs* of *Sully* to lose nothing by being put into a new language.

In the first place, I found it indispensably necessary to change this stilted language of secretaries,

taries, who know nothing but to praise and flatter. What can be more tedious than to see them, at every line, addressing their master to put him in mind of something that has already happened, and to confess that he understands the business better than themselves? This perpetual address made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I must add, that the historical narrative, which allows only the third person to be used, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already said, instead of one principal actor, present us with two, whose parts constantly intermingled in the recital, or who almost always make their appearance together, either talking between themselves or with other persons. The pronouns he and him, which in other histories supply so conveniently the place of proper names, must, in a book like this, have been applied sometimes to one, sometimes to another, which would have produced an obscurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If, to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled Memoirs to contribute to a history of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and perhaps that half which can least be spared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great
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are every where to be found ; but those of the duke of Sully can be read no where else : and it had been still less proper to have mentioned only the action of the minister.

There remained therefore only one scheme to pursue, that of making Sully tell his own story. I yielded with less reluctance to this necessity, as I found it likely to be the source of new pleasure ; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work those interesting passages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted ; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him speak as such a minister, so favoured by his master, and so respected by all the ranks of the community, might be supposed to speak at the present time.

This single motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it should be found that I have, in other respects, discharged the duty which this licence made indispensable ; but, as I cannot assume so much to myself, I shall found my defence upon a matter of fact ; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himself is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name ; since the original pieces are his own, and his secretaries did nothing more than stitch them together. This is easily perceived in several places, where the pen of the minister being withheld, either by promise of secrecy or some consideration equally strong, you see the
reader's

reader's expectation disappointed with regard to facts of which the secretaries themselves had apparently not the least knowledge. This is therefore no robbery, but an honest restitution, which I make to their master of his own works. In attestation of this, I can produce all our writers, who shew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they consider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The single doubt of Vitorio Siri * is of no weight against so much evidence.

This critical disquisition I do not think of sufficient importance or amusement, to require that I should transcribe whole pages to establish this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the secretaries themselves : he that thinks it worth his while, may consult the places marked in the margin †. I shall here offer only a conjecture, which I submit to the discernment of my reader.

The Memoirs of Sully were formed first upon the observations which M. de Rosny began, from his earliest youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well those that related to the public as those that affected his master and himself. To these were added, in the next place, the observations which he set down at the entreaty of his prince, who soon began to distinguish a man of his character. M. de Rosny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much less a formal his-

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29. 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom.

† *Ést.* des 1, & 3 Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, Tom. II. p. 446.

tory, but only a collection of pieces upon several events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is sometimes used, is not to be taken in the strictest sense: accounts consisting of pieces thus independent, were not things absolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he considered himself as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his secretaries, rather than his own.

These registers †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his secretaries, two of whom composed at first the two former volumes, such as they now appear, the two other secretaries, who were taken into the service of Sully at the time of his retreat, were busy, at the same time, upon the first of his two following volumes, which comprises a space of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV. and imagining their labour incomplete, unless they should produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their master's papers, and at last attained their purpose. But notice must be taken, that they are not to be believed too easily with respect to the place where these Memoirs are said to be printed; for they had an interest in imposing upon the public, by making it be believed that these Memoirs were not printed in France ‡. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbe Lenglet, and

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385. † Epît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410. ‡ Epît. Limin, ibid.

several others, are confident that the two first volumes were printed at the castle of Sully; and for the two last, it is a known fact that their first appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiselle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and shewed as a curiosity to those that came to see him. Of these, part, at least, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, since none of these pieces are found in the vast collection of manuscripts presented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of these Memoirs, those minutes were destroyed as of no farther use: but, for my part, I make so little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wish to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no essential addition, nor has any consequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be distinguished or disintangled from theirs; for they did not content themselves with ranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the best thing they were capable of doing.

I know not whether there is not even room to suspect them of having suppressed some pieces of considerable importance. One may safely charge them, at least, with having destroyed The Treatise of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Instructions Military and Political, and

some other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in existence. They have been sought to no purpose in the closet of the present duke of Sully*, notwithstanding the pains which he, who is so well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute so much to the honour of his family. He has little more than some accounts and memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the substance is found in this book. The only manuscripts that raise much curiosity, are the original copy of the first volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impression was certainly taken; and the two last volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two first have been lost. These adventures, or allegorical histories of that age, are entituled, *Gelaftide, ou les Illustres princesses pucelles du puissant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Dolosophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope*; titles as singular as those of the Memoirs of Sully, and which shew that they are drawn up by the same hand.

It is possible that the loss of these originals is imputed to Sully himself, since his secretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes†. In that case we shall be forced to confess, that a little vanity, from which this minister was not free, kept him from suffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give him-

* Louis Pierre-Maximilian de Béthune.
p. 83 and 294.

† Tom. III.

self the honour of the brightest part of the reign of Henry IV. and, not caring either to praise himself or to lose the praise he had deserved, he determined to have that said by others which he could not modestly say himself.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and speaks. Let us hear, on this head, our antient dissertator. “ This stiff and haughty humour, says he, “ which so often obliges his prince to speak “ first, and to open himself to him, if it had “ been softened and made more easy, would “ have been perhaps more perfect, and more “ deserving of imitation; but, if the original “ was as it is represented, and nature had “ formed it of this cast, it ought not to be flattered or disguised: if this gravity and general “ circumspection, which his enemies mention “ as a reproach to his memory, was the very “ quality which gave so much value to his “ ministry and his credit, we ought not to “ regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as “ a defect.” And indeed, if a minister is of known honesty, and unsuspected of any bad design, why should he, in speaking to his master, or transacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the severe dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes; but we may sufficiently prove, that Sully deserves no reproach of this kind, by observing that he never received any from his

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master,

master, who not only allowed, but loved and praised his freedom of speech. Whatever may be said, for instance, of the famous promise of marriage which Sully tore in pieces in the hands of Henry, I see nothing in that affair which does not deserve admiration, and there is no fear that it shall be drawn into precedent.

The necessity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own sake, has given occasion to these two remarks. I have considered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to personal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by secretaries, and could never have been said by him, and keep all that he has said, or suffered others to say to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all stand which the same vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, disposed him to advance with relation to the greatest families; such as the house of Austria, among others, or concerning private persons, to whom he has not always done justice; such as the dukes de Nevers and de Epemon, messieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Ossat, and others, amongst the roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Plessis-Mornay; and to conclude, with respect to a society deserving esteem, for purity of manners, and the service it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I stop at this head, it is only to show how much I detest every species of prejudice; for
other-

otherwise I know well enough that I shall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preserve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from supposing that my work will put out of the world, must always remain in its true state, it would appear against me, if I should dare to alter it, and furnish an accusation against me of dishonesty and flattery; all that I have been able to do, and I protest I have done it only out of regard to justice, is to shew my dislike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real sentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a single word is sufficient to put an end to the greatest part of the imputation thrown upon the jesuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we must consider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumstances of those things, during the transaction, it was difficult to pass a right judgment upon the measures of the different parties: at present, since time has given new light to their causes, motives, and means, we who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or desire, have, with respect to the subject on which we are treating, two opinions almost opposite; we detest the league, and have great reason to detest it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of suffering the greatest of all evils, the loss of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Ossat, and others,

stand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they must be defended.

A motive of the same kind determined me likewise to write notes upon passages where Sully speaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the English, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as espousing his quarrels. To see nothing in other nations worthy of praise, is to be blind; to see it, and not own it, is to be weak.

Another article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all these, is the liberty with which the author sometimes discovers his particular principles, with respect to the very substance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, of reflection, and of good qualities, must have been very dangerous when he was led to speak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the first perusal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occasion, for the last time, the writer whose testimony I have so often made use of, to shew that these Memoirs cannot make, at this time, these impressions which they were unable to make when they were new. “ It is not, says the author, “ upon account of his religious opinions, that “ he is to be considered as a model, or as an “ original; we are to look into these Memoirs “ for a general, a grand-master of the ordnance, “ a superintendant of the finances, and a minister of an universal genius, concurring in “ all

“ all the schemes of his prince ; but you are
 “ not here to expect a picture of a christian,
 “ and much less of a catholic. — These
 “ books,” says the same writer, in another
 place, “ do not shew him properly pious or
 “ religious, because they do not shew him a
 “ catholic.”

The author might have added another reason of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully represents himself either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whose reasonings upon almost every other subject is solid and conclusive, appears so wretched as a divine, that the mere comparison of his writings with themselves is sufficient to confute him ; besides, how many confessions are drawn from him by the force of truth ? how much does he say against the mad determination of some protestant synods, against the intrigues and bad designs of the chief of that party ; against the mutinous and seditious temper of the whole body ? It is something so singular, to see the duke of Sully by turns a Calvinist, and an enemy to Calvinists, that I thought it necessary to preserve whatever he has said on the subject of religion, lest what I had suppressed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it necessary to be likewise liberal of my notes, in opposition to those passages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have shewn some regard to my first scruples.

The notes have been considerably multiplied by another consideration. As I was desirous

to make this work more clear and compleat, I have shewn the same regard to things of mere entertainment as for those of necessity. I could not prevail upon myself to skip over a fact obscure or but slightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it. In one place, therefore, you will find a passage of pure amusement producing another of the same kind; in another place, a person of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it necessary to add his christian or surname, his dignities or employments, and sometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewise, in which I have endeavoured to rectify false calculations and mistaken dates, and to adjust the valuation of coins; and on all these occasions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our best writers, and to draw immediately from the fountain-head; thus the *Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novenaire et Septenaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; messieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné*; the manuscripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Ossat *, &c. are my vouchers for facts; and for all the rest, my credit depends upon the books which have furnished the assistance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myself with giving their words upon the subject before me, without entering into any disquisitions, except when contrariety of opinions seemed to require it. But notwithstanding this precaution, the margin

* For these letters I consulted the old folio edition, as also the old edition of L'Etoile's *Memoirs*.

of the five or six first books are somewhat croud-
ed; nor was it in my power to do otherwise, the
first Years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious
number of facts of every sort, which Sully has
only hinted at, or mentioned very slightly.

To these might very properly have been
added, notes upon politics, war, the finances,
government, and naval affairs; and I could
not, but in compliance with my inclination,
scatter a few upon the last books, particularly,
of which the subject made them often useful,
and sometimes absolutely necessary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only use
that could properly have been made of them,
was to scatter them here and there in the places
where they have relation. With respect to
another part of this work, I have taken a con-
trary method: I have brought together all that
was said in different places upon the great and
famous design of Henry IV. which seems often
to break the narration in an unpleasant man-
ner; and finding no place where a recital of
so many particulars could be inserted, I made
a book of it by itself. I may be suspected upon
these last heads, of having made great ad-
ditions to my original; but let the reader suspend
his judgment till he has read it from beginning
to end. I am well aware, that the necessity of
arranging these materials in a different order,
has given this work a kind of original air,
which distinguishes it from common transla-
tions, without giving the rank of a work of
invention. There are many other places where
it will be seen, that if I had thought myself
entitled to an absolute authority over my ori-
ginal,

ginal, I should often have given it another cast. As to references, it was not possible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

The letters, which are scattered here and there, I could only have made useful, by casting them into a narrative, and joining them with the fact to which they relate : by this means, I have contrived to diversify my history, and have made the letters more useful than they were before. It is common for those who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly ; these omissions I commonly supplied with a note, when the matter is such as can be discovered, or deserves explanation ; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of small importance : all these I consider as useless, and retrench them either wholly or in part ; and I take the same course with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuse memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities : but when I find letters, conversations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another : this I intend for the gratification of those readers who would complain, if in these ancient Memoirs, the personages that are introduced should talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleasure they must receive from the singularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myself.

I have

I have followed the usual method, of dividing a historical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted; but it seemed to me to make so considerable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its suppression.

I thought it not for my purpose to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but besides, that, according to my scheme, I saw no use to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of these pieces critically, that they did not deserve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he says of the new court, of the council, and of himself, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purposes, and the evidence he gives of the great design of Henry IV. As to the furious invective against Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred last pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand; so immethodical, so unconnected, and at the same time so trifling and so dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his secretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpose, as themselves confess,
that

that the last volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be ranked with the panegyrics, sonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if such things happen to please him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from these Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men should be lost or neglected: this Supplement is more full and interesting than I at first could promise myself, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleased to supply me.

I make use, as I have already said, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in some libraries it is bound in two: the first and second of these volumes printed at Amsterdam, that is to say, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volume, printed at Paris by permission, by Augustin Courbé, in 1662. this edition is incorrect, but some of the others are mutilated, which is worse. I shall here enumerate the subsequent editions; the two first volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649. in two volumes in folio; in a smaller letter, at Amsterdam, 1654, in four volumes 12°. At Paris, 1664, by

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the same time at Rouen, in seven volumes 12°. The last edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

What I have here to add is to assure the public, that I respect it too much to expose myself to its censure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may serve, if not to correct my work, at least to mend my self for the future, I am so far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to spare them; they shall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the first attempt, nor do I plead my situation in excuse; though my situation was so little propitious to this kind of labour, that I should have seen myself obliged to throw it up, had I not been assisted by persons whose generosity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confession is due to truth. I should likewise be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of genius and candor, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the first notion of this work, but assisted me likewise to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendship or generosity could dictate.

A

S U M M A R Y

OF THE

Books contained in the FIRST VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and those of the calvinists, at the peace of 1570. Rosny's extraction, and anecdotes of the house of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the first years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Rosny engages himself in the service of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other causes of suspicion, which the court gave to the protestants. Profound dissimulation of Charles IX. Massacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Observations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Rosny escaped being massacred. Education of Rosny. The calvinists resume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Imprisonment of the princes. The insurrection of Shrove Tuesday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares

war against the huguenots. Flight of Monsieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monsieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Rosny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to Holland; Rosny attends him. The taking of Câteau-Cambresis, &c. Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the protestants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the prince of Orange. Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France. Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Béthune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he visits Monsieur. Death of that prince. Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domestic employments. Origin, formation, and progress, of the League. Henry III. joins the League against the king of Navarre. Divisions in the calvinist party; the views of its chiefs. Rosny is again sent to Paris by the king of Navarre, to observe the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Rosny. The prince of Condé in extreme peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Rosny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Rosny goes

to visit and assist his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitless interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A series of military expeditions. Rosny defeats one of the enemies squadrons. Other successes of the calvinists; a declared persecution against them. Madame de Rosny in great danger. Rosny's secret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuse leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

M E M O I R S from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the protestants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret designs of the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, and the viscount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; observations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the consequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guise assassinated; reflections and observations on this occasion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The pusillanimity of Henry III. with respect to the League. Rosny negociates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the disgust he receives upon this occasion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maienne sits down before Tours; military exploits on both sides. Battle of Fosseuse, at which Rosny is present. Death of madame de Rosny. Military successes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this assassination. Henry IV. asks counsel of Rosny; the perplexing situation of this prince. The dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present. Skirmishes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters

and sieges of different places. Digressions upon those Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spanish army in France. Rosny defends Passy. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Rosny often in great danger; is wounded in several places; he is carried by his own orders to Rosny: Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; dissipation of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; disappointed. The taking of the suburbs of Paris; the siege of this city; particulars relating to this siege; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither: his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the prince of Parma to retire. The siege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterprize upon Mante. The duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the siege of Rouen; errors committed at this siege. Mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, assaults, and other particulars of this siege. The prince of Parma comes again with an army into France. The insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterprize boldly seconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and observations upon it. Henry raises the siege of Rouen: marches, encampments, encounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Observations upon these battles. A glorious exploit of

of the prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine. Henry's army refuses to pursue him ; the causes of this refusal ; and reflection upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592—1593. A succinct account of the state of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soissons : his character. An abridgment of the duke of Epernon's history : his disobedience ; his character. Several parties formed in the southern provinces of France : a short account of what passed there. The siege of Villemur. The siege of Eperni, where marshal Biron is slain : his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Rosny marries again, and retires in discontent. The cause of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negociations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of those papers. A third party formed in France : the persons who compose it ; and their views. Henry follows Rosny's advice. The wise and cautious conduct observed by them both. Conversations betwixt them, wherein Rosny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry sounds the protestants upon this resolution. Rosny's conference with Bellosane, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry ; with what design ; rejected. The meeting of the states of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Disunion of the catholic chiefs in these states : their intrigues and artifices to supplant each other. The parliament of Paris publishes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wisdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the dissensions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Rosny gives the king very prudent advice. The siege of Dreux ; taken by Rosny's means. Henry removes

removes all obstacles to his conversion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

SUMMARY of the SIXTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592—1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the League, and the hugenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt upon the life of Henry. The jesuits accused and cleared of this crime. Rosny begins a negociation with admiral Villars, to disengage him from the party of the League. Fescamp surprised by a very extraordinary method. A dispute raised about this fort. Several cities surrender to Henry. Rosny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negotiations with Villars. The character of that governor. Rosny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the princess Catherine. He visits the duchess of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negociations with Villars, Médavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obstacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumstances relating to this reduction. Several instances of the generosity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroi. Rosny's third journey to Rouen. Villars sends away the deputies of Spain and the League. The ceremony with which Rouen was surrendered to the king. The conditions upon which Rosny consents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An instance of Henry's generosity. Lyons submits to the king, notwithstanding the endeavours of the duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the same. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The siege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Rosny to return to Paris: his conversation with

with the cardinal of Bourbon: he supports the jesuits in their process with the university and curates of Paris: he returns to the siege of Paris. A farther account of the siege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Rosny present at this rencounter. The king displeased with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw supplies into Laon.

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 niards defeated by Byron. Henry's presence at this
 moment. The king, delighted with Henry's
 The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw supplies
 into Leon.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themselves at the court of Charles IX. that the miseries which beset the protestants under the preceding reigns, would at last oblige them either to submit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé*, their leader, the loss of two great battles†, the utter dispersion of their soldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, discouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to persuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached ‡. A courage superior to

1570.

* Lewis the first, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a pistol-shot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Montequieu. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accused of having commanded him to assassinate the prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

‡ The reader must not forget that it is a protestant who speaks

in these memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at present in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad consequences to either from what Monsieur de Sully can say in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in several places, draw very strong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and the advantage the catholic religion has over the protestant. See what is said on this subject in the preface to this work.

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all events, supported them in circumstances so distressful: they recalled their soldiers, who were scattered throughout the provinces, and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and some other towns, still holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldness to promise themselves, they should spread the alarm as far as Paris, as soon as they were reinforced by some considerable supplies of horse and foot, that they expected from Germany.

This news gave great uneasiness to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but she flattered herself, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to disperse the troops, which she supposed would be by that means thrown into a consternation. For this purpose she ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy*, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were desirous of serving in it; and the marechal de Cossé†, who was to have the supreme command, suffered himself to be intoxicated with the glory he should acquire, by extirpating even the last hugenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mo-

* Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, son of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaspard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was also marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counsellors and confidants of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I shall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," says he, "he ran through the streets of Paris, crying, "Let

blood, let blood; bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May. His son, who has written his memoirs, relates, that his father being upon his death-bed, made a general confession of the sins of his life; after which his confessor saying to him with an air of astonishment, Why! you speak not a word of St. Bartholomew. I look upon that, replied the marechal, as a meritorious action, which ought to atone for all the sins I have ever committed."

† Artus de Cossé, lord of Connor, who died in 1582.

ther : but he was soon undeceived : the protestant 1570. army received him with great intrepidity ; they were always the first to offer battle ; in the skirmishes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their side ; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc*. So much obstinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the protestant party it would be necessary to have recourse to other measures than war. Treachery seemed to her the securest ; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, she listened so favourably to proposals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was least expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the hugenots. This was the peace † of 1570. After which, during the space of two years, each party tasted the sweets of a repose, that had been equally desired by both.

* It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Cossé would beat the hugenot army, or at least prevent it from approaching Paris : neither the one, nor the other he performed ; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat after a very smart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himself with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calvinists were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his cousin german, the one sixteen, the other seventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the historian, relates these words of Henry IV. after he had ascended the throne : speaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc, " My first exploits in arms, said this prince, were at René-le-duc, where the question was, whether I should fight or retire. I had no retreat nearer than forty miles from thence, and if I staid, I must necessarily lie at the mercy of the country people. By fight-

ing, I ran the risk of being taken or slain, for I had no cannon, and the king's forces had ; and a gentleman was killed not ten paces distant from me with a cannon shot : but recommending the success of this day to God, it pleased him to make it favourable and happy." Vol. 1. book V. p. 327. In this same year, the hugenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennnes, the isle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were restored to them, the number of their churches was augmented, and four cities were given them for security, La-Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La-Charité. This peace was signed the 11th of August, and was called the lame and ill-founded peace, because it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Mesmes, lord of Malaffize, which in French signifies ill founded.

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My father * retired to his house at Rosny, and employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I served, that will make the subject of these memoirs, 'tis necessary that I should give some account of my family and person. By satisfying the curiosity of the public in these particulars, I must intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, since a strict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the succeeding parts of these Memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptismal name, and Bethune that of my family †, which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the antient house of Austria: we must not, however, confound it with that which is at present in possession of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This last is descended only from the counts of Habsbourg and Quibourg ‡, private gentlemen, who three hun-

* Francis de Bethune, Baron de Rosny, who died in the year 1575. His first wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, president of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Bricohnet; by whom he had three children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter. His second wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no issue.

† These particulars relating to the house of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the antient Memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be safest to rely on the best modern genealogists, whose opinions we shall mention hereafter.

‡ It was long believed, that the house of Austria was descended from the counts of Habsbourg, or Thierstein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, carelessly consulted by Theodore Godeffroy, and upon his

word adopted by the best critics, and even by father Le Long, have given rise to this error; but by these writings better examined, by the charters of the monastery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears that this house is originally from Briggaw, that it is descended from the ancient counts of Alsace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habsbourg, and landgraves of Alsace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourg, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the first, called duke of Germany, eighteenth ancestor of Raoul or Rodolph the first, to the middle of the seventh century. This seems to be sufficiently well established by the new work in Latin of father Merquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737. in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplo-

dred years since were in the pay of the cities of 1570.
 Strasbourg, Basi,* and Zurich, and who would
 have thought themselves highly honoured by be-
 ing stewards of the household to such a prince as the
 king of France; since Raoul, chief of this second
 house of Austria, held a like employment under
 Ottocar king of Bohemia. It is from the son of
 this Raoul, that the new stock of Austria properly
 begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of
 his own.

The house of Bethune (which has given its name
 to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the
 counts that anciently governed that province) boasts
 of one Robert de Bethune*, protector of the
 church of Arras, whose father and grandfather,
 bearing also the name of Robert, were declared

matic genealogy of the august house
 of Habsbourg, &c. See also the
 learned and judicious extract of
 this work, inserted in the journal
 des Savans, March, April, and
 June, 1740. Besides this general
 error, our Memoirs seem to
 have fallen into two other parti-
 cular ones. It is certain, we ought
 not to confound this second house
 of Austria, with that which had
 the possession of Austria, &c. till
 the year 1248, that Frederick the
 last of it died, and which drew
 its origin from the ancient dukes
 of Suabia; but we want proofs
 of the house of Bethune's being
 allied to that of Suabia, or the
 first house of Austria, tho' it was to
 the second, by the house of Coucy.
 The duke of Sully probably gave
 credit to the ancient fable, that
 derives the house of Austria from
 Siegbert, son of Theodebert, king
 of Austrasia, and has applied it
 not to the second house of Aus-
 tria, but to the first, although the
 one is no more true than the other.
 He has reason for saying after-
 wards, that Raoul or Rodolph,
 count of Habsbourg, and the first
 of this house that was emperor,

had been steward of the household
 to Ottocar, King of Bohemia; and
 that Albert his son, elected emperor
 likewise, was the first of his house
 who took the title of duke of Aus-
 tria, which happened in 1274,
 when Rodolph gained the dutchies
 of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, &c.
 from Ottocar his rival; but he
 ought at the same time to have
 done more justice than he has to
 the antiquity of this house.

* Du Chesne seems to be much
 of the same opinion. He proves,
 that Robert, called Faisseus, the
 head of the house of Bethune, who
 lived in the tenth century, de-
 scended from a younger branch of
 the ancient counts of Flanders,
 and had for his portion the lord-
 ship of the city of Bethune, first
 barony of the earldom of Artois.
 If this opinion be well grounded,
 'tis certain, that it was the city
 of Bethune from which this branch
 took its name, and which was
 from that time borne by all the
 house of Bethune. The title of
 patron of the church was then so
 noble, that many sovereigns thought
 it an honour to be distinguished
 by it.

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protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, at the time of the Croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the Croisades has not forgot those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

Se les rappelle
Whoever has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself *à les imiter* to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, my conduct may be such, that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge me, nor I have occasion to blush that I am descended from them.

† These are apparently the two brothers, sons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, proposed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. It is al-

so certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, this Coësne or Connon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his son.

At length the house of Bethune, growing every day more illustrious, became allied * to almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria †, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the august house of Bourbon ‡ did not condemn its alliance.

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Passa des alliances en

But I must confess, that the branch from which I am descended, had then lost much of its first splendor. It was the issue of a younger brother ||, and the poorest of all who have borne this name. The eldest branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great estates it possessed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houses they married into.

My particular ancestors, by marrying advantageously, restored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name; but all these riches were almost entirely dissipated by the prodigal

* See in Du Chesne and father Anselm, all the alliances of the house of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Constantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jerusalem, the dukes of Lorraine, the kings of Castile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

† By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It must be observed, that as often as the house of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the house of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldest branch of this ancient house of Coucy was extinct in the person of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The house of Guines was not less ancient and illustrious than that of Coucy.

‡ By the houses of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourg, and lastly by the house of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Rosny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, says Du Chesne, as well on the side of her father, Hugo de Melun, viscount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the sovereigns of Europe.

|| John de Bethune, ancestor in the seventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two sons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here speaks; he was lord of Locres and Autreche. Matthew de Bethune, another ancestor of the author's, had likewise three daughters, and no son.

1571. *gality and bad management of my grandfather *, who left nothing to his son my father, but the estate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.*

As for what relates to me personally : at the time of which I have been speaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December 1560. Although I was but the second † of four sons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldest brother ‡ made my father look upon me as the future head of his family ; all the indications of a strong and vigorous constitution recommending me still more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it ; neither threatenings, promises, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his most tender sollicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry || king of Navarre, who will have the

* John de Bethune, baron de Baye : he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viscount de Gand, and of Jean d'Horn ; she was heiress of Rosny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He sold the lordships of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Châtillon, Broucy, &c. Du Chesne, *ibid.*

† Francis de Bethune, baron de Rosny, &c. had six sons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

‡ Lewis drowned himself at twenty years of age.

|| " The house of Bourbon, from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had been almost always neglected ; and to such extreme

" poverty was it reduced, that
" the famous prince of Condé
" brother to Antony king of Na-
" varre, and uncle to Henry the
" great, had no more than six
" hundred livres a-year for his
" patrimony." *Essay on the civil wars.*

These words of the author of the *Henriade* might easily lead one into an error, if at the same time we were not warned of it by an historian better informed, who tells us, that the house of Bourbon was then in possession of a revenue of more than eight hundred thousand livres a-year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very considerable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it possessed of the ancient estate of Bourbon, or even of the house of Moncade, the maternal stock ; the estates of these two houses, which came by very rich and illustrious alliances, being ali-

principal share in these memoirs, was seven years older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year*. A countenance noble, open, and insinuating, free, easy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exercises suitable to his age, drew the esteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to † discover those great talents for war, which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy ‡, he

enated to purchase the viscounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's history of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For these alliances, and the genealogy of the house of Bourbon, consult also the New Chronology of Peter Visior Cayet, vol. I. book I. p. 237, and our other historians.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. Mr. de Perefice relates some very curious particulars concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, made his daughter promise to sing a song to him while she was in labour; in order, said he, that you may bring me a child who will neither weep nor make wry faces. "The princess had fortitude enough, in the midst of her pains, to keep her word, and sang a song in Bearnois, her own country language. As soon as Henry entered the chamber, the child came into the world without crying; his grandfather immediately carried him to his own apartment, and there rubbed his little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him suck some wine out of a gold cup, to make his constitution strong and vigorous," Perefice's history of Henry the great, p. 1, Cayet, vol. I. book I. p. 241.

† "This young prince, when he was only thirteen years of

age, had judgment enough to observe faults in the conduct of the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, and a very judicious one, that at the great skirmish at Loudun, if the duke of Anjou had had troops in readiness to attack them, he would have done it: that he did not do it, but chose to retire, was a proof of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they ought to have attacked him; this they neglected, and by that means gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, he represented to them with equal strength of judgment, that they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, because the forces of the princes were dispersed, and those of the duke of Anjou all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle of Moncontour, when he was but sixteen years of age, he cried out, We lose our advantage, and consequently the battle," Perefice, *ibid*.

‡ "He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, would have him clothed and fed like other children in that country. They even accustomed him to run up

breathed

1571. breathed nothing but labour, and seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aspiring wishes, he indulged himself in forming schemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which

“and down the rocks. It is said, “that his ordinary food was “brown bread, beef, cheese, and “garlic; and that they often “made him walk barefoot and “bareheaded.” *Perefixe, ibid.*

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a strict Calvinist, for his preceptor.

“While he was yet a child, he “was presented to Henry II. who “asked him if he would be his “son: he is my father, replied “the little prince in Bearnois, “pointing to the king of Navarre. “Well, said the king, will you “be my son-in-law then? Oh, “with all my heart, answered the “prince. From that time his “marriage with the princess Margaret was resolved upon. At “Bayonne the duke of Medina, “looking at him earnestly, said, “this prince either will, or ought “to be an emperor.” *Cayet, vol. I. b. I. p. 240.*

In the *Memoirs of Nevers* we meet with some letters written in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, that contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person and manners of young Henry. “We have here, “says one, the prince of Bearn; “it must be confess’d, that he “is a charming youth. At thirteen years of age he has all the “riper qualities of eighteen or “nineteen: he is agreeable, polite, obliging, and behaves to

“every one with an air so easy “and engaging, that wherever he “is, there is always a crowd. “He mixes in conversation like a “wise and prudent man, speaks “always to the purpose, and “when it happens that the court “is the subject of discourse, “’tis easy to see that he is perfectly well acquainted with it, “and never says more nor less “than he ought, in whatever “place he is. I shall all my life “hate the new religion for having “robbed us of so worthy a subject.” And in another, “His “hair is a little red, yet the ladies think him not less agreeable on that account: his face “is finely shaped, his nose neither too large nor too small, “his eyes full of sweetness, his “skin brown but clear, and his “whole countenance animated “with an uncommon vivacity: “with all these graces, if he is “not well with the ladies, he is “extremely unfortunate.” Again, “He loves diversions and “the pleasures of the table. “When he wants money, he has “the address to procure it in a “manner quite new, and very “agreeable to others as well as “himself; to those, whether men “or women, whom he thinks his “friends, he sends a promissory “note, written and signed by “himself, and intreats them to “send him back the note, or the sum mentioned in it. Judge, “if there is a family that can “refuse him: every one looks “upon it as an honour to have a “note from this prince.” &c. *Vol. II. p. 586.*

Spain had unjustly usurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain *. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condescended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the † battle of Lepante, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of distinguishing himself against the infidels became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering expectations which the astrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but animated as he was with these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of his most intimate confidants.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young prince of Navarre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are speaking, 'tis necessary to give a summary relation of the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death of the ‡ king

* My ewe, said Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a secret presage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. *ibid.*

† Gained this year against the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles the fifth. He was generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

‡ Antony de Bourbon, husband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better

than give in the words of the author of the *Henriade*. "Francis de Guise did design to assassinate him in the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed of the plot, yet went resolutely into the chamber where it was to be executed. If they murder me, said he to Reinsy, one of his gentlemen, take my bloody shirt, and carry it to my wife and son: that will teach them what they ought to

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of Navarre his father, slain before Rouen. I shall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which side soever it owed its rise, the event was not so favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who advised it. These were the constable* de Montmorency, and the duke de Guise †, who hoped these troubles would furnish them with the means of reciprocally supplanting each other. In this war there was sufficient employment for both. The duke of Guise, at the head of a powerful army, passed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the constable was still more unsuccessful: the most distinguishing post, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reserved for himself, and lost St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken prisoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelines ‡.

The duke of Guise saw all his wishes completed by these unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed singly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to France. The constable in his prison felt all the force of this blow; and being resolved to go and

“ do to revenge me. Francis the
“ second durst not stain himself
“ with this crime; and the duke
“ of Guise at leaving his chamber,
“ exclaimed, What a poor king
“ have we!”

* Anne, constable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

† Claude de Lorraine, a stem of the house of Guise in France, had six sons, Francis, duke of Guise; Charles, archbishop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorraine; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guise; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbeuf. Francis the eldest, is he whom

the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Est, and was murdered in 1563, with three poisoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accusations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guise and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand master, grand chamberlain, and grand huntsman of France.

‡ Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

defend

defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his master, but it released him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely sunk his credit *. This prince was slain in the midst of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the seal of the peace. Francis II. who succeeded him, was young, weak, and infirm: he had married the niece † of the duke of Guise, and that nobleman became in his turn the sole governor of the king and kingdom. The protestants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was busied in forming vast projects, and meditating the strangest catastrophes in France, when he himself experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. A sudden death, occasioned by a pain in his ear ‡, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was singular in this, that the authority seemed to be equally divided amongst the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the constable, and the duke of Guise. Each of them in secret supported a party of his own. The good destiny of the duke of Guise placed him a second time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union she even founded the principal part of her politics; and it is pretended the hatred she began to shew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great share in it: this aversion arose from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an astrologer, that none of the princes her sons should have issue, in which case the crown must pass to a

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* Struck in the eye with a splinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran against the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

† Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorraine, of the house of Guise.

‡ The abscess that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 31st of December, 1560. No more was needful to raise a suspicion of his being poisoned.

1571. branch of the house of Bourbon. She could not resolve to see it go out of her family, and therefore destined it to the posterity of her * daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother †, it is certain she gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most dreadful calamities.

This dreadful tempest seemed solely formed to burst upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The ‡ king of Navarre, his father, was just then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

Prince Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and settled in

* Claude of France, the second of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

† M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, assigns another reason for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: He declares he read in these memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being prisoners together, they plotted to strangle the queen mother with their own hands, when

she came into their chamber. This design was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree enraged against him.

‡ The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantôme, vol. iii. p. 242.

Rochelle,

Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the protestant party, to whom this important city, far distant from the court, seemed most advantageous for the interest of their religion. A very wise resolution, had they been capable of adhering to it constantly.

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Queen Catherine dissembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, spoke only of faithfully observing the treaties, of entering into a closer correspondence with the protestants, and carefully preventing all occasions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Cosse's deputation, whom she sent to Rochelle with Malassize and La Proûtiere †, masters of requests, her creatures and confidants; but the true motive was to observe all the steps of the calvinists, to sound their inclinations, and draw them insensibly to an entire confidence in her, which was absolutely necessary to her designs; and she forgot nothing on her side that was capable of inspiring it. The marechal de Montmorency ‡ was sent to Rouen with the president de Morfan ||, to do justice there for the outrages committed against the hugenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were severely punished; and king Charles usually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occasions artfully insinuate, that he consented to this peace, in order to support the princes of his blood against the too great authority of the Guises, whom he accused of conspiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confusion **.

* Gaspard de Coligny, lord of Chatillon-sur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldest son of Anne, Constable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

|| Bernard Prevot, lord of Morfan.

** Charles IX. had a natural aversion to the duke of Guise. He was so offended at his having demanded the princess Margaret his sister in marriage, that speaking on this subject one day to the grand prior of France, natural son of Henry II. he said, shewing him two swords, "Of these two

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These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in favour; and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the protestants, who for their deputies had named * Téligny, son-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Noële, and Cavagne; and these four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with presents and civilities.

The marechal de Cossé did not fail to give weight to these appearances of sincerity: having by that means insinuated himself, he began to confer in earnest with the queen of Navarre on the scheme of marrying the prince her son to the princess Margaret, sister to the king of France; and was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of four hundred thousand crowns. For the † prince of Condé, he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match; and the ‡ countess

“swords that thou seest, there is
“one of them to kill thee, if to-
“morrow at the chase thou dost
“not kill the duke of Guise with
“the other.” These words were
repeated afterwards to the duke of
Guise, who quitted his pursuit.
P. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333.
The same historian adds, that
Charles IX. pursued the duke of
Guise one day with a javelin in his
hand, and struck it forcibly into a
door, at the same moment that
the duke came out of it, for
having, in playing, touched him
with a file. Ibid. p. 376.

* Charles, lord of Téligny in
Robergue, Montreuil, &c. married
to Louisa de Coligny. He had
something so sweet and amiable in
his countenance, that at the mas-
sacre of St. Bartholomew, those
persons who were first sent to
assassinate him, stood as in sus-
pence, and had not resolution
enough to strike the blow. Fran-

cis Briquemaut. John de Lafrin,
called Beauvais-la-Noële, to dis-
tinguish him from Philip de Lafrin
his eldest brother. The author
wrote Tavannes, but we must
read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne
was a counsellor of the parliament
of Toulouse.

† Henry the first, prince of
Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchi-
oness d'Isle, related to the Guises,
and brought up in the court of
the queen of Navarre. She had
no children by her husband, who
afterwards married Charlotte Ca-
therine de la Trimouille.

‡ Jaqueline de Montbel, only
daughter of Sebastian, count of
Entremont, widow of Claud Ba-
tarnai, lord of Anton, who was
killed at the battle of St. Denis.
The duke of Savoy detained her
some time in his dominions, but
she escaped, and came to Rochelle
to marry the admiral. His first
wife was Charlotte de Laval.

d'Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be persuaded: to this last article, therefore, he added a nuptial present of a hundred thousand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed *. The marechal de Biron † was sent to confirm these shining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the suspicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poisoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France ‖, who had been falsely accused of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the same time he told her, under an injunction of secrecy, that the court being resolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the restitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as

1571.

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\* Odet de Chastillon, cardinal bishop of Bauvais, abbot of St. Benoit sur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at sixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of countess of Bauvais, and as such she took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accused of high treason before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was sent during the war, to support the interests of the calvinists with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commissioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princess and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, tho' D'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poisoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to re-

turn to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put into possession of great part of these benefices, and enjoyed them during the space of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him also a hundred thousand francs, to purchase furniture for his house of Chastillon. D'Aubigny's history, vol II. book i. chap. i.

† Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

‖ Eldest daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Most of the French historians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the physicians, not knowing that she was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1658.

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father also put to a violent death.

1571. being antient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hostilities by succouring Mons, which the prince of Orange \* had just taken from the Spaniards.

To compleat all, he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to serve under him, as a little while before he had done the commissioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low Countries spread so far, that it is certain, the grand seignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diversion, and to facilitate the conquest. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was necessary to be done on this occasion. Montmorency was sent ambassador thither, with instructions to use every method, by which he might gain this princess, and prevail upon her to chuse one of the king's brothers for a husband. A marriage, which, they said, would alike strengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This conduct, so full of seeming frankness, might have been suspected by its excess; yet it had the designed effect, and the discourse of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The desire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, served more than any thing else to banish their scruples. † Beauvais, Bourfaut, and Francourt, were the first, who suffered themselves to be persuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to persuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; these three persons strongly supported that

\* William of Nassau, prince of the prince of Navarre. Cervais Orange. Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

† — Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre. design,



design, and represented to the queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the king, but lose all the advantage of this favourable situation of her affairs. At first she doubted, and continued irresolute during some months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following.

The huguenots, one would imagine, affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, sufficient to make the sincerity of such great promises suspected. The king and queen could not so well dissemble, but that they suffered their real sentiments to be sometimes guessed at. It was known, that Charles had one day said to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which she answered, "Very well, my son, but "you must hold out to the end." Something also had taken air, relating to the result of the conferences held at Bayonne \*, between the courts of France and Spain. The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had shut its gates against him; and the marquis de Villars †, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his

\* In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almost to Bayonne, where she had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances sufficient to make it probable, that the subject of these conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the house of Austria, and the means by which they should extirpate the protestant party: but there is no certainty that the design of the massacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till

several years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almost continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard something of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the protestant party: He gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and she to the prince of Condé and the admiral, and the rage this inspired them with, carried them to the enterprise at Meaux. Hist. of France. vol. I. p. 283.

† Honorat, a bastard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

1571.  troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were not ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coast, which they supposed had been destined for Holland. The citizens had moreover discovered the artifices which Strozzy \*, La Garde, Lansac, and Landereau, had made use of to gain the custody of their gates, and to seize their city. In fine, while they boasted of their exactness in maintaining the treaty of peace in its fullest extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the protestants, which the court either authorised, or dissembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital † being inclined to punish the aggressors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cause, together with his refusing to seal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was banished from court. Without all these instances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were sufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her son. Could they flatter themselves that this prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux ‡, the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lion, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles fought, so much blood shed? Reasons of state, that phrase so familiar with sovereigns,

\* Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lansac the younger, brother of Lewis de Lusignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lansac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

† Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The seals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

‡ In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Co-

ligny, formed the design of seizing Charles the IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of three thousand Swiss, who covered the king in his march, and the calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

that



that under the disguise of policy they may satisfy <sup>1572.</sup> their personal resentment, and other passions, will scarce permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always persisted to impute the death of her husband to them, which she could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Christ. Nor was there less imprudence in trusting the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the cross of Gatine \*. From all this, my father conceived such strong apprehensions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris first reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly persuaded, that the present calm would be of short continuance, he made haste to take advantage of it, in order to shut himself up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one else talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herself informed him more particularly of this design soon after, and requested him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being desirous of tak-

\* The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, Book L. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis street, having some years before been convicted of lending his house to the huguenots, to serve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His house was demolished, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a cross, which was afterwards called the cross of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, passed in the year 1570, the calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down, which after some delay was at last executed; but it occasioned such violent tumults amongst the popu-

lace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the second volume of his history of the city of Paris, says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is still to be seen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St. Denis, over-against the street of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

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ing me with him, he ordered me, some days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being present but La Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me: “ Maximilian, “ since custom does not permit me to make you “ the principal heir of my estates, to balance this “ disadvantage, I will endeavour to enrich you “ with virtues; by means of which, I hope, as “ hath been predicted to me, you will one day “ distinguish yourself. Prepare, therefore, to support with fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with in the world, and by nobly surmounting them, procure the esteem of all good men, particularly that of the master to whom I am desirous of giving you, and in whose service I recommend to you to live and die. I am going to Vendome, to meet the queen of Navarre, and the prince her son; dispose yourself to accompany me, and when I present you to him offer him your service; and, that you may express yourself gracefully, study a little speech for that purpose.” Accordingly, I attended him to Vendome \*. He found there a general security, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic † and Rochefoucaut, and the other protestant lords, he very freely told them, he was surprized they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were

\* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his majesty, and his estates were seized, but

were restored to him at the peace. Du Chesne.

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucaut, and prince of Marillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.



no less suspicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding still more, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he often said, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimson. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakness and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiser than so many persons of more distinguished understandings, suffered himself, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but before he went, he presented me to the prince of Navarre, in the presence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldness, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raised me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which my family had always discovered for him, and, with that engaging air so natural to him, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Rosny, but went

1572.  
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1572. to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As soon as I arrived, sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applied myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe, which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. was continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the count de Rochefoucaut, de Teligny, Resnel *, Beaudisner, Piles, Pluviaux, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other protestant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the care of reconciling him with the princes of the house of Guise. To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry †, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveness. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the first news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the assassin ‡ should be sought for in the most

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Resnel; Galiot de Crussol, lord of Beaudisner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N— de Rochefort, lord of Pluviaux Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Briqueville de Colombieres; Antony de Grammont, viscount d'Asier; John de Durefort, viscount Duras; Bayancourt, lord of Bouchavannes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

† Villandry being one day at

play with the king, was so rash as to commit some offence against majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

‡ He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie, "Must I," said Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils; shall I never have any quiet?" Many per-

secret recesses of the palaces of the Guises. He made all the court, after his example, visit the wounded person; and when the Guises came to intreat that he would condescend to hear their

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sons have doubted, whether these threatenings of Charles, and his violent transports of rage, were not sincere; and whether this prince, who had at first entered into all the designs of the queen his mother, did not suffer himself at last to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in those private conversations they had together, in which the admiral never ceased to represent to him the fatal consequences of this princess's bad government, and to exhort him to shake off his dependance on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of state, vol. II. p. 55, and 66, and many other writers of those times, produce such strong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the question. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed so ill, that this princess saw no other means of preserving her authority, which she was upon the point of losing, than by causing the admiral to be assassinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was suborned, unknown to the king, to strike the blow. On the other side, the historian Matthieu believes he has sufficient reason to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from first to last. He relates, that this prince observing the opposition some of his counsellors gave to the design of extirpating the huguenots, represented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was lost if their plot was not executed that same night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the schemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their design. He added, that those who did not approve of

his resolution, would never be considered by him as his servants.

But this historian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himself lessens the weight of these proofs, by relating a conversation that passed between Henry III. and his physician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgement, for it is too long to be inserted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, observed, that this prince looked upon him with eyes so full of rage, and such indications of fury in his air, that, apprehending the consequence of these violent emotions, he softly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herself, being but too much disposed to believe it, resolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, since he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from visiting him, thought it necessary to accompany him, and, under pretence of sparing the admiral's strength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private conversation they held together. During this visit, Catherine, who was surrounded with calvinists, observed, that they frequently whispered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very suspicious eyes. This adventure, she acknowledged, was the most dangerous of all she had ever been engaged in. As they returned, she pressed the king so vehemently to tell her the subject of his private

justification,

1572. justification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then making. The king car-

discourse with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himself from betraying it, by telling her, with his usual oath, that she spoiled all his affairs, or some words to that purpose. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourse to an artifice that succeeded. She told her son, that he was ready to fall into the snare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his catholic subjects, who, through disgust at finding themselves betrayed, had chosen another leader. All the other counsellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, seconded her arguments so strongly, that Charles himself being seized with fear, and passing from one extreme to the other, was the first to resolve, and even press, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, said he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the rest of that day and the following night, they consulted upon the means of executing this design. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a pistol go off, fear and remorse seized them. The king sent orders to the duke of Guise to proceed no further. To which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their con-

sternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis possible, I think, to reconcile these different opinions, and preserve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by saying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the rest of the huguenots, suffered himself to be shaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propositions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reasons, was thrown into a state of irresolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuosity of his disposition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's security proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwise, it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and sagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him: however, it must be confessed, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height, of which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the admiral to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestable proof.

ried

ried his respect for this prince so far, as to dis- 1572.
 pense with his going into the church of Notre-
 dame *, and even with observing any of the romish
 ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon † making
 some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which
 to him seemed to exceed all bounds, was dismissed
 with a severe reprimand: and when the queen of
 Navarre died, the whole court appeared sensibly
 affected, and went into deep mourning. In a
 word, it is not passing too harsh a censure up-
 on this conduct of Catherine and her son, to call
 it an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation;
 since a man of the admiral de Coligny's great
 wisdom fell into the snare, notwithstanding a
 thousand circumstances concurred to make him
 apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it
 was loudly said, that Genlis and La Nouë ‡,
 who had been sent to the assistance of the prince of
 Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the

* " The king, says le Grain,
 " was resolved that the marriage
 " should not be celebrated in a
 " manner wholly conformable to
 " either religion. Not to the cal-
 " vinist, because the vows were to
 " be received by a priest, who
 " was to be the cardinal of Bour-
 " bon; nor to the romish, be-
 " cause these vows were to be
 " received without the sacramental
 " ceremonies of the church.

" A great scaffold was erected
 " in the court before the principal
 " gate and entry of the church of
 " Paris, on Monday August the
 " 18th, 1572, upon which were
 " betrothed and married on the
 " same day, and by a single act,
 " The most high, &c. This done,
 " the bridegroom retired to meet-
 " ing to hear a sermon, and the
 " bride went into the church to
 " hear mass, according to the ar-
 " ticles of the treaty of marriage;
 " after which, they both came to the
 " entertainment prepared for them
 " in the great hall of the palace,"

&c. B. le Grain, Dec. of Henry
 the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his sister
 three hundred thousand crowns for
 a portion; and the queen of Na-
 varre yielded the Upper and Low
 Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her
 son at his marriage. F. Matthieu,
 vol. I. book vi.

† Charles de Bourbon, cardinal,
 uncle to Henry IV.

‡ John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of the
 ancient house of Genlis. Francis
 de la Nouë, a gentleman of the
 greatest reputation in the prote-
 stant party, and esteemed even by
 the catholics themselves. The ad-
 miral speaking of this misfortune
 to Charles the ninth, attributed it
 to the secret being but ill kept in
 the council. Charles demanded
 of the duke of Alba, by Claude
 Mondoucet his resident in the Low
 Countries, the French protestant
 gentlemen, who had been taken
 prisoners. De Thou, anno 1572,
 book li.

1572. French court; which, whilst uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, was not willing to hazard all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

They were also informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal ministers, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guises; who were twice discovered conversing in masques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz *, and the chancellor de Birague †: this was sufficient to shew what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre ‡, they perceived plain indications of poison. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the king's

* Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

† René de Birague, a Milanese, bishop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the seals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de L'Hopital. See his eulogium in the Negotiations of Busbeg. Aug. Gist. Busbequii Epist. 29. Of him it was said, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without seals, and priest without a benefice.

‡ Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, bishop of Chartres, a man violently suspected of calvinism. Soon after her return from Blois, whether she had followed the court, she was seized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illness. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of L'Etoile, D'Aubigné, and all the calvinists, attribute it to poison, which they say was given her in a pair of gloves by a Flo-

rentine, named René, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to understand, that the physicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was supposed to be affected by the poison: but they are all contradicted by Le Grain, and several others, who maintain, that she died of a pleurisy, occasioned by her being overheated in making preparations for the nuptials of her son: to which was added, the vexation she conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy sacrament as it passed before her house, on Corpus Christi day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all suspicions of poison. The last mentioned assures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princess to be opened, as well as the rest of her body; and if the physicians did not do it, it was because they found the true cause of her death in an abscess she had in her body. This is also the opinion of Matthieu the historian.

stable.

stable. Even the guards that Charles* (under the pretence of securing the admiral's person from the like attempts) placed about him, were almost all his declared enemies; nor was it less certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furnished with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houses.

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The most clear-sighted amongst the huguenots, yielding to proofs so convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itself, or at least lodged in the suburbs. Of this number were Mess. de Langoiran†, de

* This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the designer of this stratagem. 'Tis hard to say, what was her real intention by this stroke; whether she sought to get rid of a man who possessed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her design of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, she would have confined her vengeance to his single death: or lastly, whether she expected the noise of this assassination would excite the calvinists in Paris to revolt, and by that means furnish her with the occasion she wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were proposed; amongst others, the assault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned slaughter into a real one against the huguenots; at last, they resolved to put them all to the sword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the street Betisy in an inn, which is called at present the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered is still shewn there.

† N— De Montferrand, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viscount of Chartres,

N— de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, slain at the battle of Yvry, at seventy years of age. N— de Rabodanges. In the manuscripts in the king's library, N° 8669. p. 31, may be seen the original of a letter of Charles the eleventh to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monsieur de Rabodanges, I know with what fidelity you have acted on occasion of the commission which I delivered you some time ago, to punish the vagabonds and robbers of your country."

N— de Segur de Pardaillan. N— Du Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N— Des Hayes Gasque. Guy de Lusignan of St. Gelais, son to Lewis, lord of Lansac. Peter de Choupes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Noche. Peter de Grandrie, steward in ordinary of the king's household, &c. All these persons earnestly pressed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing so," he replied, "I must shew either fear or distrust. My honour would be injured by the one, by the other the king. I should be again obliged to have recourse to a civil war; and I would rather die than see again the miseries I have seen, and suffer the distress I have already suffered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. 343.

1572. Frontenay, the viscount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, Du-Breüil, de Segur, de Say, Du-Touchet, Des-Hayes, de Saint-Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Estienne, d'Arnes, de Boifec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of those, whose life was preserved by a wise and prudent distrust. When he was pressed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the suburbs agreed better with his constitution, and that of the fields was still more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the bishop of Valence *, in taking leave of the king for his embassy to Poland, had penetrated into the secret, and been indiscreet enough to reveal it to some of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters sent to Rome by the cardinal de Pellevé †, in which he unfolded the whole mystery to the cardinal de Lorraine; it was then that these gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houses. To this advice the prince opposed that which had been given him by a great many other persons, and some even of the protestant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all those who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He listened to nothing. The admiral ‡ appeared no less incredulous: his bad destiny began by blinding him to lead him to his

* Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence.

† Nicholas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbishop of Rheims, passionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine.

‡ It has been said, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were against his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much

is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more usefully! All the historians agree in saying, he was the most consummate politician, and greatest warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in consequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled against Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and

ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the same prudence that marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithstanding repeated invitations from the king, who prest him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his person, to assist him with his advice. 1572.

If I was inclined to increase the general horror, inspired by an action * so barbarous as that per-

formed the plan of a republic, which in part has succeeded. It is also believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322, 340. he is accused with great violence, but he always steadily denied, particularly in his last will, his ever having any intention of attempting the person of the king. See his elogium, and political designs in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other historians.

* What M. de Sully says of the massacre ought not to be thought too severe: "An execrable action, cries Perefice, that never had, and I trust God never will have, its like." Pope Pius V. was so much afflicted at it, that he shed tears; but Gregory XIII. who succeeded him, ordered a public thanksgiving to God for this massacre to be offered at Rome, and sent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a short account of the massacre: All the necessary measures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the signal for beginning the slaughter. The admiral de Coligny was first murdered, in the midst of his servants, by Besmes, a French gentleman, and a domestic of the duke of Guise; the duke himself, and the chevalier de Guise staying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and

carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis said, they found the memoirs of his own times, composed by himself. After they had offered all sorts of indignities to the bleeding carcase, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency caused it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole house of Guise had been personally animated against the admiral, ever since the assassination of Claude duke of Guise, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himself of this imputation. If this cruel slaughter (as many people are fully persuaded) was only an effect of the Guises' resentment, who advised the queen-mother to it, with a view of revenging their own injuries; it must be confessed, that no particular person ever drew so severe a vengeance for an offence. All the domestics of the admiral were afterwards slain; and the slaughter was at the same time begun by the king's emissaries in all parts of the city. The most distinguished of the calvinists that perished, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himself seized in bed by men in masques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themselves with him. An-

petrated

1572.  petrated on the 24th of August, 1572, and too well known by the name of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, I should in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of those who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris, as in every part of the kingdom: I should mention at least the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and savage insults these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thousand times more terrible than death itself. I have writings still in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the most pressing instances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum to those unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the satisfying a malignant pleasure, which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I

tony de Clermont, marquis de Resnel, was murdered by his own kinsman Lewis de Clermont, of Buffy d'Amboise, with whom he was then at law for the marquise of Clermont. Charles de Quel-lenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whose dead body excited the curiosity of the ladies of the court, on account of a process carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heiress of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two sons; one of them was stabbed by his side, but the other, by counterfeiting himself dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, escaped. Teligny, son-in-law to the admiral; Charles de

Beaunahoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marasin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudisner, Pluviau, Berny, Du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was pursued by the duke of Guise as far as Montfort L'Amaury. The king pardoned the viscounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were also spared, through fear that he might hereafter revenge their death. See the historians and other writers, and that fine description of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his *Henriade*, Canto second.

would,

would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate ^{1572.} the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued succession of miseries, blood, and horror, during six and twenty years; for it is not possible to judge otherwise, if one reflects on all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occasion to the prince, who is the subject of these Memoirs, and to myself.

I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to know the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these men, who without doubt were amongst the first that were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dressing myself, when in a few moments I saw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmost consternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had consented to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied: tho' the great distance between the house where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having disguised myself in a scholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the street. I was seized with horror inexpressible, at the sight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houses, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, massacre the huguenots:" the blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards; they stopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to use me ill, when, happily for

1572. me, the book that I carried was perceived, and served me for a passport. Twice after this I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated myself with the same good fortune. At last I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger still greater than any I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refused me entrance, I continued standing in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were evidently seeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to ask for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard mention Sicilian vespers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, saying the order was, not to spare even infants at the breast. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a distant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my destiny; and saw no one but a servant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me provisions.

At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the protestants being published, I was suffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I saw Ferriere and La Vieville; two soldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself

self to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that prince's example, and go to mass. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of saving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king. They would not suffer the two princes to take their swords with them; who, as they passed, beheld several of their gentlemen * massacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and eyes in which fury was visibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these princes † were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with grief. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in his opinions by his subjects; that they, by their example, should teach others to revere him as the image of God, and cease to be enemies to the images of his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would

* James de Segur, baron of Paradaillan, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some persons were sent to Châtillon, to seize Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's son, and Guy D'Andelot's son; but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

† As Henry went to the king,

Catherine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures. He trembled and recoiled two or three steps back, when immediately Nangai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, though he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberds. Perefixe's history of Henry the great.

1572.

treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt if they were sincere, they yielded to necessity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was even obliged to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbid. Tho' this submission preserved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he suffered a thousand capricious insults from the court: free by intervals, but more often closely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domestics sometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a sudden not suffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leisure in the most advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to prosecute my study of the learned languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had strongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whose care he had intrusted my education; he himself perceiving he could be no longer useful to me, asked leave to retire. From his hands I passed into those of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and history; two sciences which soon consoled me for those I renounced, because I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever since preserved: the rest of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all those exercises that give ease and gracefulness to the person. It was in these principles, to which a still greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth consisted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himself had been brought up in that manner. I

continued

continued to follow it till I was sixteen years of age, when the situation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumult of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to these exercises those only that related to war succeeded; which I began by learning to shoot, and renounced all others. In such circumstances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confusion of arms offer excellent schools of virtue and politeness to him that is desirous of profiting by them: but miserable, and that during his whole life, is he who engages in a profession so fatal to youth, without having strength or inclination to resist bad examples: tho' he should have the good fortune to preserve himself from being tainted with any shameful vice, how will he be able to instruct and fortify his heart in these principles, which wisdom dictates as well to a private man as a prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? so that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a necessity of saving all by a crime, or losing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the same.

It was not long before Charles felt the most violent remorse for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the sanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand strokes of cruelty, which every one boasted of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none possessed so great a share of his confidence, as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon. This man, tho' a huguenot, lived with him in so great a degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the massacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics: he replied, without being alarmed, "By the light of God, sire, I cannot believe that you have forgot

1572. “ your promise never to command me to do four things, namely, to enter into my mother’s womb, to be present in the day of battle, to quit your service, or to go to mass.” The king soon after took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the trouble of his soul: “ Ambrose, said he, I know not what has happened to me these two or three days past, but I feel my mind and body as much at enmity with each other, as if I was seized with a fever: sleeping or waking, the murdered huguenots seem ever present to my eyes, with ghastly faces, and weltering in blood. I wish the innocent and helpless had been spared.” The order which was published the following day, forbidding the continuance of the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly disavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he sent into the provinces, he threw all upon the Guises, and would have had the massacre pass for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were all conceived in the same terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad consequence of so formal a disavowal; for, at the end of eight days, his sentiments and language were so much changed, that he went to hold his bed of justice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be registered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of August but by his express commands *, and to punish the hugue-

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was seen with a carabine in his hand during the massacre, which, ’tis said, he fired upon the calvinists that were flying. The last marechal de Tessé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man

of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himself had loaded that carabine. ’Tis also true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with

nots ; to each of the principals of which party, a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the name and colour of a just execution to that detestable butchery. These letters were addressed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publish them, and pursue the rest of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende *, and de Charny ; of Messieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint-Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refused to execute such orders in their governments. The viscount d'Ortez, governor of Baïonne, had resolution enough to answer Charles IX. who wrote to him with his own hand, " That on this point " he must not expect any obedience from him."

The number of protestants massacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to seventy thousand. This cruel blow struck the party with such terror, that, believing itself wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but submitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigo-

a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon ; and one of his courtiers observing it smelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, " The body of a dead " enemy always smells well." These two anecdotes I relate after the author of the *Henriade*, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

* Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, saved the lives of all the protestants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to destroy them, he said, That could not be his majesty's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy : there was only one Calvinist murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon : he was resolved to save the protestants, nevertheless they were all massacred in the prisons where he had put them for

security. He is said, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiang, lord of Gordes, a man in great esteem. N— de S. Heran de Montmorin, governor of Auvergne : he positively refused to obey, unless the king was present in person. Tanneguy Le-Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honest humane man ; he did all that lay in his power to preserve the protestants at Rouen, but he was not master of it. N— viscount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier ; See his answer to the king. " Sir, " I have communicated your majesty's orders to your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garrison ; I found there good citizens, and brave soldiers, but " not one executioner," &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c,

1572. rous stroke for once broke this resolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle escaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his most cruel enemy, saved himself, with the viscount de Gourdon, and about eighty horse, and came to Montauban. He found this city under such a consternation, and so little in a condition to defend itself against the troops of Montluc†, who were approaching, that, having ventured to advise the inhabitants to hold out, he himself had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a squadron of 450 horse, belonging to the army of Montluc; and, being desirous of dying nobly, performed such wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they shut the gates upon Montluc. This resistance, and the resolution of Montauban spreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the protestants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themselves upon the defensive.

The catholics immediately turned all their forces against Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had invested. These enterprizes did not succeed: Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no history can furnish us with examples, at last concluded a sort of treaty with the besiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts §, who had in person come to besiege

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: It was Vezins himself, a man of great honesty, but of harsh manners, that saved the life of Renier, whose enemy he had a long time been, and still continued to be, notwithstanding this action. See this remarkable history in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaise de Montluc, marechal of France.

§ The marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this siege, that they did not send troops enough, carried on the assaults improperly, hazarded too much, and suffered victuals to be brought into the place it.

it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to save the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preserved all its privileges: and these were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the last edicts. 1572.

Time also produced other favourable conjunctures for the calvinists. The queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alençon; the last of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak state of health was changed into a mortal disease. The opposition he thought there was reason to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his design, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princess, by bestowing her confidence on a small number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greatest part of the nobility almost as discontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and persuaded them to apply to the protestants for assistance, in whose disgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderness for the king of Poland, she began from that moment to think in earnest of marrying the first of these princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the

by sea; however, he says, it would have been taken at last. He advised the queen-mother, from the time she went to Baïonne, to take possession of this city: it would have saved France both men and money had this advice been follow-

ed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle, and Sancerre, in D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other historians.

sovereignty

1572. sovereignty of the Low Countries: but his discontent had already produced its effect.

Charles, through another motive, joined in his brother's resentment against the queen their mother. The disease with which he found himself attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleasure of seeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he soon saw himself reduced, gave birth to a thousand suspicions against Catherine in his mind; so that, uniting his interest with that of the protestants, he began to shew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithstanding the opposition made by the queen-mother, to send deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propose their demands. These deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the discontented lords to demand the suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gentlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived shewed the most immovable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she could do was to make use of delays till the death of this prince, which she foresaw was not far distant. The protestants penetrated into her designs; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared suddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tuesday, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to

* Fontenay, Lusignion, Melle, guedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Lan-

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry II.

Normandy, where he fortified himself. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was resolved, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarrass her. Guitry* and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conspirators not having sufficiently secured the success of their design, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where she beheaded Coconnas† and La-Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and imprisoned the marechals de Montmorency and de Cossé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and sent soldiers to Amiens to arrest the prince of Condé, who was there strictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and disguising himself, deluded his spies, and the third time escaped happily to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generalissimo of the protestant troops in France.

The queen-mother took a resolution to send all her forces against the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon‡ led the first into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three || inconsiderable forts in

* John de Chaumont, marquis of Quित्रy or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, Book i. p. 26.

† Joseph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas, a Piedmontese. "La-Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great princesses, [the queen of Navarre and the duchess of Nevers] love and jealousy brought them both to destruction" Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

‡ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deserves all the praises that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the person of his king; a virtue in those times very uncommon, De Thou, book lxvi.

|| These were Carentan, Valogne, Saint-Lo, and Donfront. In this last he was taken fighting like a man in despair. D'Aubigné, who was himself a zealous protestant, cannot certainly be suspected of partiality upon this question his

1574- his possession, was soon defeated, and obliged to deliver himself up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The second, commanded by the duke de Montpensier *, went to invest Fontenay, and afterwards Lusignan, which he took, notwithstanding the bravery with which the viscount de Rohan defended it. The prince † Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewise some small places in Dauphiny; but having sat down before Livron, shamefully raised the siege. All was suspended on account of the king's death, which happened this year, on Pentecost day. This prince died at the castle of Vincennes, in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to shew the grief and remorse he felt for it ‡. The

relating to the promise given to the count by the marechal. "The place, says he, was taken, and life was promised to all but the count, to whom artful assurances were given, that he should not be delivered into any other hands than the king's. This I am convinced of, notwithstanding the contrary has been written. France is guilty of but too many perjuries, there is no occasion to invent any to charge her with;" &c. Vol. II. book ii. chap. vii. Montgomery submitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

* Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpensier descended from a Lewis of Bourbon, second son of John II. of Bourbon.

† Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. iii. p. 301.

‡ He sent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Preface. A little before he expired he said, he was

glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the state in such difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almost all the historians agree in saying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He possessed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and sobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great swearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contusions were found in his body. De Thou. However, there were no proofs found of his being poisoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guise says he was. His death proceeded from violent exercises, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His stature was tall, but he was not strait, his shoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghastly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Masson.

cardinal

cardinal of Lorrain * died also on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the most terrible storm that ever was known. 1574.

The king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him he stole out of the court and fled. In his journey he visited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice †. In all these places, they gave him advice equally wise and conformable to his interests, which was, to grant the protestants peace, and the free exercise of their religion; but, instead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted them for three months, and changed it, at the solicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war against the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themselves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville ‡, who had been disgusted by the imprisonment of his brother.

The king went in person to lay siege a second time to Livron, which he was likewise obliged to raise; and brought nothing away with him, but the shame of finding himself insulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the most satirical and cutting reflexions on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared so different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be said with reason, his shameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be consecrated, he con-

* Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbishop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantôme's Memoirs. He died, says he, at Avignon by poison, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaise, p. 138. and most piously, according to Matthieu, who wrote

his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

† The reader may consult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

‡ Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency.

1575.  ceived a passion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont *, and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time closely confined ; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monsieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increased or lessened according to the reports that were brought of their correspondence with the enemies of the queen-mother §. One of Catherine's other cares was to disunite these two princes; which she effected, by promising each of them separately the post of lieutenant general of the French armies, and by making use of such means as seldom fail to succeed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwithstanding all her arts, Monsieur escaped at last : he deceived his guards, and fled in disguise on the evening of the 17th of September. He no sooner gained Dreux, than he saw himself attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

The prince of Condé had laboured so effectually in Germany, that prince Casimir was soon in a condition to enter France with a strong army.

Catherine had now recourse to other stratagems ; she endeavoured to regain Monsieur by the most specious offers, and pursued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom she relied still more. In a

* Louisa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margaret of Egmond, his first wife. Matthieu gives this prince's great praises for her virtue and affection to her husband, Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

§ Henry III. hated Monsieur, on account of his having, as he supposed, attempted to poison him. He endeavoured to persuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refused with horror. Hen-

ry III. being ill with a disorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day said to the duke of Guise, whom he loved, " Our man is " very ill." The duke answered the first time, " It will be no- " thing." The second, " We " must think of it." And the third he said to him, " I under- " stand you, Sir;" and striking the hilt of his sword, " This, ad- " ded he, is at your service." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

word *, she succeeded so well, that he fell at last into the snare she laid for him. 1576.

The king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promise of making him lieutenant-general, thought himself now secure of it, and rejoiced at first that he had got rid of Monsieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his mistake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be Monsieur, of whose reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himself to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis †: his guards being dispersed, he instantly passed the Seine at Poissy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up some money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horse, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertra had seized in his name. There he had a conference with Monsieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no sooner arrived, than he publicly resumed the exercise of the protestant religion. I was one of those who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He sent me from Tours with Fervaques ‡, to demand the princess his sister of the court. She was delivered to us, and the second day after, she also resuming her religion, heard sermon in the calvinist

* They conferred together at Champigny-sur-Vaude, a house belonging to the duke of Montpensier, upon the confines of Touraine.

† See an account of this in D'Aubigné, vol. II. ch. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. page 420, &c.

‡ William de Hauteemer, count of Grancy, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged seventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards dutchess of Bar,

1576. church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themselves at the head of fifty thousand * effective men, and made Catherine tremble in her turn. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myself into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more suitable was given me. I made my first essay in arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where several skirmishes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of rashness than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and said to me, "Rosny, "it is not here that I would have you hazard "your life; I admire your valour, but I desire "you should employ it on a better occasion." This occasion was not so near as we believed, for Catherine finding herself deficient in strength, had recourse to her usual artifices. She talked of peace; she offered more than we thought we could demand; promises cost this artful princess nothing. In a word, she had address enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and signed three months after. This was called Monsieur's peace †, for, besides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was so much the dupe of her artifices, that at last he wished for it, and solicited it more warmly than any other person. It must be confessed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they signed it.

* According to others, 30,000 only.

† By the edict of sixty-three articles, passed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine, between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other protestant chiefs were restored, cham-

bers of justice, composed equally of protestants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and several cities given for security. Monsieur procured also a large appennage for himself, and a considerable sum in money and jewels for prince Casimir. De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.

To this Monsieur added a second error as ^{1576.} considerable against his own interest; he separated from the protestants *, and by that means lost opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the most powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mother's wishes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the disunion of her enemies.

Henry, upon the conclusion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholics in this prince's train did not meet with so favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon †, was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

The king of Navarre staid but a short time in this city. As soon as he demanded the accomplishment of the treaty, he became sensible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied she had promised any thing to the protestants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I now quitted my first post; M. de Lavardin ‡, my kinsman, who had a great affection for me, presented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a siege. The king of Navarre had a design to undertake some considerable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them

* In reality, Monsieur, on this occasion, sacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his interests, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be seen all the steps taken by each party on occasion of this treaty.

† John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

‡ John de Beumanoir de Lavardin or Laverdin, marechal of France.

1576. was lost: the greatest part of the troops, upon which he relied, disappointed him, and the rest were in so bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the last of which he failed. Favas *, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty soldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commission of Langoiran, to whom the assault of St. Macary was entrusted; he granted it, and joined my cousin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first good fortune I met with in war; for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our design, received us so well, that not a man of the first troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a danger more considerable. During the assault, having mounted the wall with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberds into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the assistance of La Trape, my valet de chambre, and some soldiers, who helped me to get up, I must infallibly have perished. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purse of a thousand crowns in gold for my share, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier †, another little neighbouring town, by surprize, they chose for the ex-

* John Favas, called captain Favas.

† A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it so, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with so much the less difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty; each thought himself happy till day appeared, and discovered the mistake. They then came to a composition, every thing was restored to its right owner, and they returned to their respective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in those times; it consisted of seizing by artifice the towns and castles of the enemy, tho' often those attempts produced very bloody engagements.

It must be confessed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently served: his army was almost equally composed of protestants and catholics, and he often said, that his obligations were greatest to the last, for they served him disinterestedly, and through pure attachment to his person: but it was this medley of catholics and protestants that ruined his affairs. Messieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Lusignon *, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal protestants, had an invincible aversion to Messieurs de Lavardin, de Miossens †, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongst other occasions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac ‡, having treated me contemptuously on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my nose. I replied, that I

* Lewis D'Lusignon of S. Gerlais.

† Antony de Buade de Frontenac.

‡ Henry D'Albret, baron of Miossens.

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found myself strong enough to draw blood from his with my sword. This quarrel made a noise; and what was very extraordinary, tho' my antagonist was a catholic, and myself a protestant, yet the viscount de Turenne * promised him his assistance, and that of his protestant friends, against me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their services to me. The viscount's hatred to me, proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter should receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jest of his pretensions; and adding some strokes of raillery, spoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only because Buffy † had supplanted him in Monsieur's favour. When the quarrel was composed, I was advised to seek the friendship of Turenne. I complied, but he answered my first advances so ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater distance than ever.

This animosity between the parties gave rise to an opposition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blasted many of his designs, and in particular that upon Marmande ‡. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of La Nouë, and even of the king of Navarre himself, he caused several bodies, of a hundred arquebusiers each, to advance, with orders to possess themselves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of these bodies was given to me; and scarce had I posted

* Henry de la Tour, viscount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

† Lewis de Clermont de Buffy-d'Amboise, celebrated for his valour and personal accomplishments.

In an assignation he had some time after with the lady de Montforeau, he was killed by her husband and his domestics.

‡ In Agenois, upon the Garone.

myself at about two hundred paces distant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the besieged three times superior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by some houses, we defended ourselves a long time. The king of Navarre, who saw the danger to which we were exposed, ran to us, covered only with a cuirass, fought the whole day, and gave us time to seize the destined posts; but they were of little use to us, as we had not men enough to surround the city on all sides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a necessity of shamefully raising the siege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with proposals for an accommodation, furnished him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A truce only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to visit the princess his sister, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my ensign's commission to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Bethune, my cousin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more suitable to the character I was to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable, that I saw myself now in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the king. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I regulated my domestic affairs in such a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confessed to me afterwards, that I owed the greatest

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governess to madame the king of Navarre's sister, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoiselle Navarre. Mademoiselle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

1576.

part of that esteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he observed in this disposition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be sensible of what advantage it is, to preserve an exact regularity in domestic concerns. Such a propensity, in my opinion, is a very happy presage, either for a soldier or a statesman.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diversions and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the king's sister, had for amusements, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, which I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodness to make me one in all her parties; and I remember, she would teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greatest magnificence.

The truce was now almost expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eause *, excited by the mutineers, had refused to give entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himself waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertised of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any resistance, at the head of fifteen or sixteen of his men, who had followed him closer than the rest of his troop. As soon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge instantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm-bell, and arming hastily, a band of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us: among these we distinguished

* A city of Armagnac.

on many other situations in life.

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three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that scarlet cloak, and white plume, for it is the king of Navarre." "My friends, my companions," said this prince, turning towards us, "it is here that you must shew courage and resolution, for our safety depends upon what we now act; follow me then, and do as I do, without firing your pistols." As he ended these words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his pistol in his hand: they could not sustain the shock, and were soon dispersed; three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these also we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being greatly diminished, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the presence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a sign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more ease, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

Those of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the seditious into their measures, perceiving the soldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. These last defended themselves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the sword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their consuls at their head, thrown themselves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himself with punishing only those four persons who had fired upon the white plume.

The king of Navarre, leaving * Bethune governor in Eause, advanced hastily towards Mi-

* See all these little military expeditions in Aubigné, book ii.

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rande *, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had possessed himself of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himself, with his troops, into the tower, where he was besieged, and hard pressed by the citizens and garrison of the place. Notwithstanding the king marched with all possible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had just been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets sound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the assistance they brought him; when a huguenot soldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himself, together with all his men, who must infallibly have perished, through the great superiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the snare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande soon perceived that their design was prevented, and falling out, attacked him in his retreat. Myself and young Bethune having engaged too far amidst the enemy, were surrounded on all sides: despair added to our strength, and we fought like men who were resolved to sell their lives dear; but we should certainly have been overpowered, extreme weariness making it hardly possible for us to use our arms any longer, when happily for us, Lesigna, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had sent to our assistance, charged the enemy so fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The sieur D'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and La

* A city in the county of Armagnac.

Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great service upon this occasion. 1576.

The king of Navarre, seeing night approach, gave orders to cease fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been rashness to attack them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and fought only to engage them to force us; but this they durst not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of six against six was proposed by Lavardin and La Devêse; but we not being able to agree amongst ourselves about the choice of the combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their respective troops the beginning of the night.

Some time after the king of Navarre going from Leicoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles * and me with five and twenty horse, to fall on a body of musqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont † had posted in the vineyards and hollow places in our passage. We engaged, and drove them almost to the city gates, from whence about an hundred soldiers came out to their assistance; part of these we left dead upon the place, and the rest were drowned in the ditches. The king, who saw the rampart begin to be crowded with soldiers, did not think proper to pursue this advantage, and continued his rout.

At his return, he endeavoured to avoid passing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas ‡, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle. † St. Nicholas de la Grave, Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier,

‡ Beaumont of Lomagne in a city of Armagnac.

1576.



drums, and discovered a party of three hundred musqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five ensigns. A council was immediately held; some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers; others disapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us, and presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled across the woods, whether we pursued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themselves within.

This church was very large, strong, and well furnished with provisions, being the accustomed retreat of the peasants; a great number of whom were then shut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to force it, and sent to Montauban, Leicoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers for that purpose; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and in the space of twelve hours I made an opening in it, tho' the wall was of a great thickness, and built of very hard stone: afterwards, by means of a scaffold raised over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The besieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them still more, they had neither surgeons, linen, nor salves for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes. A powerful reinforcement being sent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himself with only
ordering

ordering seven or eight of the most mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hands, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cause of that rage which animated them against these wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away six women, whom, after they had ravished, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and setting fire to it. A horrid excess of the most savage cruelty!

1577.
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The states, which were then held at Blois, named the archbishop of Vienne\*, and the duke of Montpensier and Richlieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince sent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commissioned to exhort the king of Navarre to embrace the catholic religion, which the states had declared should be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a suspension of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hostilities again began.

Some attempts were made upon Castel-Jaloux† and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars‡; but the king of Navarre was present every where, and disconcerted all his designs. He exposed himself to equal dangers with the meanest soldier, and gave a striking proof of the greatness of his courage at Nerac||; when being surrounded by a

\* The three deputies whom the states sent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third state. Here therefore is a fault in these Memoirs: consult De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c. See also an account of the session of the states of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438,

and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following:

† Castel-Jaloux, or Castel-Ge-loux, near Auch.

‡ Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exercise that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

|| In Guyenne, the capital of the dutchy of Albret.

1576. body of horse, detached on purpose to surprise him, he repulsed them almost by his single valour. It was not in our power, by the most earnest intreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within pistol-shot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who observed us, said to Bethune, "Go to your cousin, the baron of Rosny; he is rash and heedless to the last degree; bring him and his companions off; for the enemy seeing us retire, will no doubt charge us so fiercely, that they will be all either taken or killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horse wounded in the shoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He proposed this day a combat of four against four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the signal for retreating.

It was of the last importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage \*, then besieged by the duke † of Maienne. Accordingly he hastened thither, leaving the viscount de Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beside that this nobleman did not arrive soon enough to succour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ‡ so exasperated them against each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viscount de Turenne, whom he accused of being the author of their misunderstanding, and soon after openly separated from the king of Navarre.

The peace which succeeded accidents so unfavourable to the reformed, was the sole work of Henry III. who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War was no longer agree-

\* A city and port in Saintonge.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Maienne, second son of Francis

of Lorraine, duke of Guise. He was general of the league.

‡ In Saintonge,



able, either to his inclinations, which led him to a strange kind of life, divided between devotion and sensuality \*, nor to his designs, that tended only to the crushing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace † was less advantageous to the huguenots than that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it still subsisted, possessed themselves of Agen, and Villeneuve §, for which it was impossible to make them give satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so very ill observed, was an inactivity full of distrust; which rather resembled a long suspension of arms, than a real peace. In this manner passed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

1577.

Whether it was, that the queen-mother was desirous of labouring effectually to compose the troubles of the state, or that she had secret designs, which obliged her to gain, if possible, the king of Navarre, she quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even staid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac ||, Coutras,

\* There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuse, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbeq, Ep. 31.

† By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calvinists

in this city taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half catholics and half protestants, suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party observed it faithfully: the catholics complained that several articles were infringed by the calvinists. *Memoirs of Nevers.*

§ Villeneuve in Ageneis, upon the Lot;

|| At Nerac, says Le Grain, the queen-mother had several conferences with the king of Navarre, her son-in-law, in which some articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always

Fleix,

1578. Fleix\*, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, where wholly consumed in journeys from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not scruple to infringe.

The mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced such an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was seen but balls, festivals, and polite entertainments; but while love became the serious business of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly absorbed in politics: for once, however, she did not succeed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly disgusted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but she could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to resign to her those places of security, to obtain which had been her principal view.

I should swell these Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confess the truth, my youth and other affairs, more suitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the first; as for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis sufficient to say, that all was reduced to a desire of pleasing, and supplanting each other: I shall not, however, omit some adventures relating to the war.

The queen-mother and the king of Navarre, could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and she separated: but, whether she thought that war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of seizing several towns by surprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accomplish her views, she was not sorry that both

keep her Spanish gennet by the love with the two ladies, D'Agelle and Toffeuse.  
 was here that Henry IV. fell in \* Fleix in Perigord.



parties seemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now resolved, 1578. that there should only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes resided. This gave rise to a contrast altogether new : here they loaded each other with civilities, and conversed with the greatest familiarity ; there they fought with the utmost fury and animosity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous protestant, having conceived a violent passion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could ; and taking care that the entertainment should suffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night ; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, seized it without opposition. The queen-mother, who could have sworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly surprized next morning with the news of this expedition ; however, she was the first to laugh at it : “ I see, said she, this is in  
 “ revenge for Réole : the king of Navarre was  
 “ resolved to have nut for nut, but mine has the  
 “ better kernel.”

An adventure of the same kind happened a short time after. When the court was at Coutras \*, the king of Navarre having resolved to seize St. Emilion, he sent us over-night to St. Foi †, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we

\* In Guienne near Libourne.

† Upon the Dordogne in Agenois.

marched

1579. marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we fastened by two port-holes to a great tower. The bursting of this machine made a noise that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breast, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and said openly, that she looked upon this action as a premeditated insult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the distance between Coutras and this town was such, as rendered the case a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a protestant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, justified what he had done by this fact, and all was passed over.

It often happened, that the two courts separated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them disgust; but the desire of pleasure, which languished while they were divided, soon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was carried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diversions, he was resolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frightened; this entertainment did not suit with their delicacy. Some of these animals tore the horses to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiss, and as many fusileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in several places, mounting upon a rock, threw himself down headlong, with seven or eight hunters whom he held fast in his paws, and crushed them to pieces.

At last the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her rout through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where she had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the same state in which she found them; that is, in a peace which only increased the doubts and suspicions of each party:

however,



however, she did not forget to seduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont\*, and Duras. Another effect of her presence was, to embroil so perfectly the prince with the viscount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a single duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make those submissions which he owed to the high quality of his antagonist. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viscount received several wounds in a second, to which he was challenged by Duras and Rosan†. It was said at that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occasion, was owing to an artifice scarcely allowable.

1580.

After the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued some time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no less voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleasures and gallantry.

The news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac § by surprize, and holding the castle

\* Philibert de Grammont, John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Rosan, fought with the viscount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his second. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the disadvantage was wholly on their side. The viscount permitted Rosan to rise, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his sword; at the same moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viscount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generously intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marshal de Dam-

ville, called by the death of his brother, marshal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was consulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viscount de Turenne was at liberty to satisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without exposing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Marsolier. De Thou. Brantome in the tenth volume of his memoirs, speaking of duels, seems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, considering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

§ A city of Quercy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

1580. besieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre sent the viscount Turenne to raise the siege; who at parting said to me, "Well, Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes, Sir, I replied, I shall be always of your party, provided it is for the service of the king my master, and yours at all times, when you favour me with your friendship."

The catholics, surpris'd at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only succeeded \*. These were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this last I was present, for which reason, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the most remarkable, I shall give some account of it.

Cahors † is a large and populous city, surrounded on three sides by water. § Vefins, who was governor of it, had above two thousand men, besides a hundred horse, under his command; and he obliged the citizens also to take arms. He kept himself upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we discovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote these few words with his own hand, "A fig for the huguenots." The king of Navarre, whose little army was weakened by the absence of Chouppes, and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres ||; but the whole did not amount to

\* See all these expeditions particularly related in D'Aubigné. Vol. II. book iv.

† The river of Lot washes its walls.

§ The same who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It

is thought, that if he had not been slain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himself master of the place.

|| Towns in Quercy.



more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viscount Gourdon \*, the chief contriver of this enterprize, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city. They were sustained by twenty others, and thirty horse of the king's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin †, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure §, and sixty foldiers of the guard composed another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march.

We had three gates to force; these we made haste to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low, that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to stand to their defence. In a moment the houses were cover'd with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We soon found, that they were resolved to receive us boldly; it was necessary,

\* — de Terride, viscount of tin. He was slain there.  
Gourdon.

§ Antony de Roquelaure.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Mar-

1580. therefore, at first, to sustain an encounter, which  
lasted above a quarter of an hour, and was very  
terrible. I was cast to the ground by a large stone  
that was thrown out of a window; but by the assistance of the *Sieur de la Bertichere*, and *La Trape*, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and resumed my post. All this time we advanced very little, for fresh platoons immediately succeeded those that fled before us; so that before we gained the great square, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuisses being loosened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At last we got to the square, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demolished those works, being all the time exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks; he had two pikes broke, and his armour was battered in several places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but so much remained to do, that the battle seemed only to be just begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with so great a number of soldiers, that we in comparison of them were but a handful. At every cross-way we had a new combat to sustain, and every stone house we were obliged to storm; each inch of ground was so well defended, that the king of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leisure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exercise for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take any nourishment, but with his arms in his hand; or sleep, except for a few moments leaning against the shops. Fatigue, faintness, the weight of our arms, and the excessive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived



deprived us of the little remainder of our strength; our feet scorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impossible to be expressed. 1580.

The citizens, who suffered none of these inconveniencies, and who became every minute more sensible of the smallness of our numbers, far from surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of some succours, which they said were very near: they sent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obstinacy. Tho' their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and advised him to assemble as many men as he could about his person, and open himself a retreat. They redoubled their instances at the report which was spread, and which they found to be true, that the succours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be so soon in the city, that he would have but just time to force the wall, and secure himself a passage. But this brave prince, whose courage nothing was ever able to suppress, turning towards them with a smiling countenance, and air so intrepid, as might have inspired courage into the most pusillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven," said he, which dictates what I ought to do upon this occasion; remember then, that my retreat out of this city, without having secured one also to my party, shall be the retreat of my soul from my body. My honour requires this of me; speak therefore to me of nothing but fighting, conquest, or death."

Animated by these words, and the example of so brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we should at last have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes\*, whom the king had the precaution to send for before the attack: he, having understood the danger

\* Peter de Chouppes.

1580.



Henry was in, opened himself a passage into the city, with five or six hundred foot, and a hundred horse, trampling over the enemy as he passed, who gathered in crouds to obstruct his way. As soon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies succours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourselves masters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themselves no longer able to resist, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a small iron chest in my way, in which I found about four thousand crowns. In the relation of an action so hot, so long, and so glorious for the young \* prince that conducted it, I am obliged to suppress many circumstances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

The king of Navarre having left Cabrieres † governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewise two or three squadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a necessity of shutting himself up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins ‡; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's soldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Lésignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a

\* Other historians agree, that this attack lasted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many soldiers wounded there, and only seventy slain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little dif-

ferent, but our Memoirs deserve most credit.

† Consult D'Aubigné upon these expeditions. Vol. II. book iv.

‡ In Agenois upon the Garone.



hundred foot, who lay down on the shore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horse, and two companies of his guards, concealed himself in a wood at a small distance. Our orders were to fire our pistols only, and to endeavour to take any of the soldiers whom we should find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to pursue us. Accordingly, as soon as we saw ourselves ready to be attacked by a hundred horse, who came out of the city, we marched off, tho' they insultingly called out to us to stay. An officer of our troop, named Quasy, hearing himself defied by name, could not restrain his indignation, but turned his horse's bridle, and shot his challenger dead: he lost his horse, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon seeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his assistance: and now so fierce a combat ensued, that one of our valets, seized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the sword. This he said without the least foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, seeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuscade to second us, fearing some stratagem, and supposing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city.

It was with great difficulty, that they could restrain the ardent Henry from rushing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and perishing gloriously; but they made him such pressing instances to retire, that he consented to it at last, tho' with infinite regret. His astonishment was extremely great when he saw us, and his grief still greater for having yielded to counsellors too timid; especially when he saw Lésignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon this occasion.

1580. As for me, I lost an horse in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's discontent was greatly increased by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not satisfied with having corrupted some of his troops, and openly separating from his party, had drawn several towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his interest, and took them from Henry to compose a sovereignty for himself. Aiguesmortes and Pecais\*, he had engaged to prince Casimir as securities for the forces this prince had promised: and very lately, he had possessed himself of Fere† in Picardy; the loss of which sensibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to dismember, and sent Turenne against the prince of Condé, who soon disconcerted all his projects: as for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithstanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

This retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign, nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the siege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not sufficient strength, sought only to keep us in continual alarm, by surrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, tho' blocked up in the city, did not however fail to shew himself open in the field. The gates of the city were kept shut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no use to him; and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors, to attack the separate detachments of the royal army, and sometimes we would advance to the

\* Towns in Languedoc.

† It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there

is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken arms against the court.



very front of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of those rash actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewise severely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible; and at my return calling me rash and presumptuous, he expressly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confess, I but too justly merited these reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing less than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six discharges of cannon\* to be made, tho' he expected no advantage from it.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monfégur†. Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a saucisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the saucisse, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and see the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men

\* Some cannon was discharged against a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the go-

vernment of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

† In the country of Foix.

1580.

a-breast, the city was taken. The enemy seeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to shut myself up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourselves to the fortifying the place well with palisades and intrenchments, in the place of those the powder had destroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical distemper\*, and myself more than any other. At length we put the place into such a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the caresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and those which a rash and misguided courage suggests.

It was with pleasure that I saw this prince's favour towards me increase every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, pressed him to take care of my fortune. Some slight services I did him this year, he rewarded by the post of counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a pension of two thousand livres, which at that time was thought very considerable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me lose for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at supper one night with Beauvais, the son of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Useau, who happening to quarrel, resolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Instead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their design, that prince being very solicitous to prevent these sort of combats,

\* This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou observes also, that this distemper was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thousand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

which



which a false sense of honour made very frequent at 1580. that time, I was imprudent enough to promise to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myself to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be sent for, and told me in a rage, that I insulted the authority of the sovereign, even in his own court, and that, were strict justice to be done on me, I should lose my head. Instead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confession of it, I added another still greater: Piqued at this prince's threatening, I answered haughtily, That I was neither his subject nor his vassal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his service. The king discovered no other resentment for this insolence, than a contemptuous silence. I went out of his presence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princesses undertaken to make my peace with the king, who listening only to the dictates of his friendship for me, contented himself with punishing me no otherwise for my fault, than by treating me, during some time, with great coldness: at length, when he was convinced of the sincerity of my repentance, he resumed his former sentiments. This instance of his goodness made me know in what manner so worthy a prince ought to be served. I attached myself to him more strongly than before, resolving, from that moment, never to have any other master: but I saw myself removed from him for some time, by an imprudent promise which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

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# MEMMOIRS

O F

## SULLY.

### BOOK II.

1580. **T**HE queen-mother, whose fertile imagination was ever producing schemes for the grandeur of her house \*, and still more employed for her own particular designs, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngest son to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which she undertook to make him sovereign. She had at first made several ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they should appease the resentment of Spain † by chusing a master out of the house of Austria, decreed that honour to the arch-duke Matthias, notwith-

\* M. de Thou, treating of this subject, says, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was resolved to make him a sovereign one way or other, had sent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand seignior, to ask the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promised him the possession of; and as an equivalent for the

claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other estates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be seen in the following part of these Memoirs, began by an insurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the design of which was to hinder the establishment of the inquisition in those countries. Manuscripts in the king's library, marked 9981,

standing



standing the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The 1580.  
 archduke was a weak prince, absolutely destitute of the qualities necessary for a sovereign; upon this occasion especially, where valour was so necessary, he behaved in such a manner, as to inspire the nobility with the utmost contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange \* openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himself completely hateful to them. The Dutch, disgusted with this new master, thought of nothing but freeing themselves from his power, and cast their eyes upon Monsieur, brother to the king of France; whom they considered as a prince capable of defending them in his own person, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train suitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpose, he earnestly solicited the most distinguished amongst the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greatest part of the catholics attached themselves to him, and the hopes of a solid and lasting peace, with which the queen-mother took care to amuse the protestants, was the cause that many of those also promised to attend him.

Fervaques and Rochepot †, two of my kinsmen, engaged themselves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, represented to me, that after the loss I had lately suffered by the death of my father, I should take care to recover the succession to the viscount de Gand's ‡ estate, who had disinherited me on account of my religion,

\* William of Nassau, prince of Orange. † Hugh de Melun, viscount de Gand, grand-father by the mother's side to M. de Sully.

† Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

1580. and endeavour to get possession of several other estates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new sovereign could procure me. To these reasons they added, in the name of Monsieur, a promise of twelve thousand crowns, to furnish me with an equipage. I yielded to their solicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a considerable time, on account of several different affairs; at length all obstacles \* being removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties, Monsieur reminding us of our engagement, sent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long conversation with him on my departure, and the occasion of it; which I have never reflected on since without the deepest gratitude for that generous affection he discovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the justness of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, " 'Tis by this stroke, said he, that we " shall lose you; all is over, you will become a " Dutchman and a papist." I assured him that I would be neither; but that I should have cause to reproach myself eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the sake of avoiding a little trouble, I should see myself deprived of those large estates that might revert to me from the houses of Bethune, Melun, and Horn †. I added, that it was this consideration alone which induced me to join Monsieur, and that

\* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a castle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The protestants, to whom the last war had not been very favourable, consented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou desired it with great ardour, in order to prosecute his designs upon the Low Countries; it was signed in

the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for security, were to be kept by the calvinists six years longer.

† Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viscount of Grand, and of Jane d'Horn.



only for a little time, after which nothing should 1580.  
be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myself solely to him; and that whenever he had the smallest occasion for my service, I would leave Flanders at his first order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he should one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepossession in favour of these pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inspire a contempt for those evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the person and character of Monsieur, and a sagacity that opened almost futurity to him. “He will deceive me,” said he, if he ever fulfils the expectations that are conceived of him: he has so little courage, a heart so malignant and deceitful, a body so ill made, so few graces in his conversation, such want of dexterity in every kind of exercise, that I cannot persuade myself he will ever perform any thing that is great.” The king of Navarre had leisure to study this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept prisoners together. His memory at this instant furnished him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monsieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize so noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongst others he told me, that Monsieur flung himself against a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horse with so little skill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not his equerry with great haste and subtilty cut the reins of his horse, and spared him the shame of so awkward a fall. That he succeeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exercise; and far from feeling a just consciousness

1580. consciousness of these natural defects, or of repairing them in some degree by an ingenuous modesty, he secretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himself; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monsieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves \*, and other court-quarrels of the same nature, became the object of his jealousy and hate.

These little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconsiderable in themselves, yet ceased to appear so, when the event fully justified the conclusions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a design to exterminate the protestant party; and that he should soon have occasion for his faithful servants: then embracing me, he wished me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myself at his feet, and kissing his hand, protested that I would ever be ready to shed the last drop of my blood in his service. I quitted his presence, to go and pay my respects to the queens; after which I took post for Rosny.

From hence I sent Maignan, my equery, to Paris to buy me some horses. I have never since

\* — de Beaune of Samblancay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counsellor, and first secretary of state, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her second husband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, says Mat-thieu the historian, when the duke of Alençon was with her, the king of Navarre laid a snare for him, so that as he came out he fell against something in his way, and hurt one of his eyes. The next day the king of Na-

varre meeting him, exclaimed, "Heavens! what is the matter with your eye? what accident has happened to it? The duke answered rudely, It is nothing, a small matter surprizes you. The other continuing to bemoan him, the duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to jest, whispered in his ear, Whoever shall say I have got it where you imagine, I will make him a liar. Souvray and Du Guast hindered them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.



had any that equalled two which he brought me: 1580. 

One of them was a Spanish horse; he was quite black, except a white spot on his right buttock. The other was a Sardinian horse, to whom nature had given an instinctive quality of defending his rider; for he would roll his eyes furiously, and spring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

Part of the lands belonging to Monsieur extending to the neighbourhood of Rosny, I took occasion from thence to draw some advantage from his offer, and asked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my use; which was granted; and it produced me the sum of forty thousand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was composed of eighty gentlemen; some of whom followed me disinterestedly, and others received only two hundred livres at most. With this train I went to join Monsieur, who waited for us in his castle of La-Fere, in Tartenois; from whence, after some time spent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were assembled.

The prince of Parma \* surrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occasion for the bravest amongst us to signalize themselves, and each one was desirous of commanding the first party that should be sent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the disposition into which Fervaques † the quarter-master general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one prisoner, the besiegers keeping all close behind their lines, although I passed near enough to sustain several discharges. The viscount Turenne secretly rejoiced at my disappointment, be-

1581. 

\* Alexander Farnese duke of Parma.

† William de Hautefier de Fervaques.

1581. cause I had refused the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He chose out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himself that he should perform no inconsiderable exploit. The event did not answer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourscore or a hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais \*, of the house of Melun, who served in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made prisoners, amongst whom were Ventadour †, and the viscount Turenne himself.

Mean time Monsieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he posted himself so advantageously that we durst not attempt to force him, and the following night he raised the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loss of one soldier, leaving the passes also so securely guarded, that he was under no apprehension of being over-taken. Monsieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whose name was D'Inchy. Chateau Cambresis refusing to surrender, was taken by assault. Monsieur, willing at first to discover a gentleness that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of severe punishments, any violence against the women, who are generally the miserable victims of war; but fearing that these orders would not be sufficient to restrain the soldiers brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was

\* Robert de Melun, Marquis of Roubais. The viscount Turenne's design was to throw himself into Cambray. See his Memoirs, p. 311, and following. It is observed there, that he chose rather to be prisoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spanish cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cause that he was detained two years and ten months;

for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viscount's ransom, which was fifty-three thousand crowns, he would quit its service.

† Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limosin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.



infected, he gave them the churches for asylums, 1581. and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets, and holding me fast, conjured me to guard her from some soldiers, who, she said, had concealed themselves as soon as they saw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but she told me she had been there, and asked for admittance, which they refused, because they knew she had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my strength, I thrust this girl from my arms, who exposed me to death, to save her, when she carried, in my opinion, her security about her; and flying away as fast as I was able, expected every moment to be seized with the plague.

Monfieur having attacked the passages of Ar-leux, and L'Ecluse, I took some prisoners there, whom I sent back without ransom, as soon as I was informed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my cousin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my just pretensions to the estates of the viscount de Gand, which he had usurped, received this generosity very ill. "By heaven, said he, these civilities are very fine; but if he is taken, he brings his ransom along with him." I had reason to be apprehensive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Sesseval, by a very seasonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

The prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monfieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards D'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whose word ought always to be so inviolable, that no person should have a thought of suspecting his integrity. He invited himself to dinner with this governor, who was at an excessive expence to receive

1581.

him in the citadel, in a manner suitable to his rank. D'Inchy invited above sixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatness and magnificence. During the repast, he was told that Monsieur's guards presented themselves at the gates; D'Inchy thinking he should fail in the most essential part of his reception of Monsieur, if he sent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one else that come in that prince's name, who he said, was sole master in the castle. He spoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think so at the time; for so many made use of this privilege, that our party became at last the strongest, and Monsieur's guards disarming those of M. D'Inchy, they seized upon the castle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monsieur, who relied upon that sincerity in the governor, which he himself was not possessed of. As soon as D'Inchy was sensible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monsieur, who answered him only with an insulting smile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the castle, which he gave to Balagny \*, thought he made D'Inchy sufficient amends by the gift of the town and dutchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, resigned himself up to despair, and seeking death found it soon after in a skirmish.

After this Monsieur returned to France, notwithstanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who assured him, that after five or six fortresses more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would submit to him. His design in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England, whether he went a little time after.

\* John de Montluc, natural of Valence; he is mentioned son of John de Montluc, bishop hereafter.



The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth \*, 1582. and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the historians, I shall take no notice of them here, tho' I attended him in this voyage. From England Monsieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thousand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo †, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, assisted by the prince Dauphin ‡, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expressed their joy on this occasion, a thousand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monsieur had but a short duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a pistol shot ||. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monsieur could find security no where but in the house of the wounded person, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended assassination \*\* was discovered, there was no sort of excuses or atonement which the burgesses did not offer Monsieur for the injustice of

\* It is well known that the queen of England allowed several of the princes of Europe to flatter themselves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reasons purely natural, was the cause that she never came to any conclusion, is a question not easy to decide. Monsieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the spring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning this marriage at length, in the *Memoirs of Nevers*, vol. I. p. 474, 603.

† A fort upon the Scheld.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier.

|| The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The assassin was taken by the soldiers of the prince of Orange, who rushed in at the noise, just as he was drawing his poignard to dispatch him. *Chron. Pisicki*.

\*\* By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard: this it was that appeased the people, who were ready to put all the French to the sword. *Mem. D'Aubery du Maurier*. The people ran about the street, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill these murderers. *Matthieu*, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

1582.  their suspicions, and the revolt they had occasioned; but this outrage made a deep impression on his heart, and he resolved within himself to take a signal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be easily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the resentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to protestants in general.

As for me, I had already received personal proofs of it, which, added to other causes of complaint that were given me by Monsieur, absolutely disgusted me with his service. At first I attached myself solely to his person, and to please him spared neither labour nor expence; I thought therefore that I might solicit his interest with regard to my pretensions to the estate of the viscount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my request very coldly, put me off with delays, and at last, when I prest him one day on the subject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two persons at the same time; and that my cousin \* the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with so much assiduity. There was something in this answer more disobliging than the refusal itself; I was sensibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little share myself, and the other protestant officers had in his favour, when I heard him say publicly, that he had just banished D'Avantigny from his council, the last of the protestants to whom he confided his secrets, and he was now perfectly easy. From that time I resolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myself to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found

\* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, son to the marquis of Richebourg.



all those qualities in which Monsieur was deficient. 1582.  
 I remember, a few days before the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde \*, and a minister named Villiers; when, speaking of Monsieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he said, "These men have designs pernicious both for themselves and us, in which, it is my opinion, they will not find their account; and I intreat you, sir, added he, turning to me, not to go far from my lodgings." He thought very justly; and his diligence finishing what his foresight had begun, Monsieur suffered the double reproach of unsuccessful treachery †.

Having assembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his soldiers to enter the city again by those gates that were at his disposal, and to make themselves masters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themselves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by assault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; mass for ever." But their triumph lasted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully observed every step of Monsieur's, gave such good orders every where, or rather caused those he had long before given, to be so well executed, that Monsieur's soldiers were all either repulsed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themselves off the walls; for their terror was so great, that those who could not get to the gates, because of the great number of carcases that obstructed their way, had recourse to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horse two hours after noon, to go and

\* Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

† About that time the same attempt was made by Monsieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the plot succeeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dender-

monde, but failed upon Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpensier, and the marshal Biron endeavoured in vain to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, *ibid.*

1583. join Monsieur in the field; but before I got out of the city, the loud shouts of the assailants struck my ears, and in the same moment I met the prince of Orange, who desired me and some other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be safe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken possession of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as soon as he had restored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Flemish, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour so inexcusable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman disapproved of. It was not his fault that the protestant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monsieur; and as for us, as soon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourselves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whose inhabitants, by opening their sluices, had formed a large marsh. Four or five thousand foot, and as many horse of Monsieur's army, perished there by cold and hunger, in a most rigorous season. Monsieur, however, staid five or six months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been so considerably lessened, and the remainder so broken with fatigue, the cities so well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army so vastly superior to his, that he was at last obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpensier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name justly detestable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of persons whose services become necessary to him, must be unhappy; but this must be



be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it secures, <sup>1583.</sup> by the most infallible means, the success of all great enterprizes. Wisdom, equity, discipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which succeed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of action in truly great men. The proceedings of those who unjustly arrogate to themselves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but rashness and obstinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, presumptuous dependance on their good fortune; all consequences of flattery, which generally enslaves no persons so much as those false heroes who think themselves born to subject the whole world.

I could not resolve to leave Flanders without viewing those places where my ancestors were born; and having procured a passport from the count of Barlaymont \*, I went to Bassée, to visit madam de Mastin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom she had disinherited, because he neither believed in God nor his saints, and worshipped the devil. This notion father Silvester, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all protestants; and she took it upon his word. She carried me with her to see an abbey she had founded; and as she was shewing me some fine tombs of my ancestors, which she had caused to be erected there, took occasion to speak to me on the subject of my faith. If I was astonished to hear her utter these extravagant whims that father Silvester had put into her head, she was no less surprised to hear me repeat the creed, and all those prayers which we use in common with the roman catholics. With her reason, nature was also awakened; her great simplicity was the cause of the little tenderness she had shewn me. She embraced me with tears in her

\* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepeppe.

1583. eyes, and promised me not only the certain succession to her estates, but also engaged to get those of the viscount de Gand restored to me. This at the time was her sincere intention; but father Silvester, no doubt, found better reasons to prevent the effect of those good designs, for none of them were ever executed.

I had an earnest desire to see the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my ancestors, who for a long time were in possession of very considerable estates there. The treachery Monsieur had used towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries suspicious; they would not suffer me to enter Bethune till I had shewn my passport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Mastin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whose sign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I saw a platoon of foot approach, that gave me some apprehensions. It was, however, the burgeses of the city, who, full of respect for the blood of their ancient lords, no sooner heard my name, than they resolved to pay me all possible honours, and brought me a present of wine, and other refectations. Before I left this city, I visited and examined with great exactness, and a secret pleasure, all the public and private monuments which preserved to posterity the remembrance of the benefits my ancestors had conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

Having nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Rosny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after so long an absence. This prince's reception of me was such as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and those of Monsieur, and when I had finished,

“ Well,



“ Well, said he to me, is not this the accomplish- 1583.  
 “ ment of all I predicted of this prince, in my  
 “ conversation with you at Coutras? but the vis-  
 “ count de Turenne, whom I dissuaded as much  
 “ as possible from following him, has succeeded  
 “ much worse than you.”

Monseigneur's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendship, and offer him supplies for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to visit the countess of Guiche\*; for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The distrust Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in these offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were some intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre†. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no answer to this proposition, and made no other use of it, than to convince the king and queen-mother of the justice of his designs. He sent me there-

\* Diana, or Corisande Dandoins, viscountess of Lovigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow, of Philibert Count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alexander the great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thousand Gascons, levied at her own expence. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman than the bastard of a king. Jour-

nal of Henry the third's reign, page 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, presented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commandeur Morrée, as Davilla calls him, book II. was added an offer of fifty thousand crowns, made by the same chevalier to the viscount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms against France. Mem. of the League; vol. V.

1583. fore to Paris, to inform them of the step which Spain had taken.

There was no longer any access to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he saw none but his favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the queen of Navarre; for this princess, whose temper could not agree with that of the king her husband, had \* left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that she was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourse to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair seemed to her to be important; she mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majesty, a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it should seem, never formed a good design that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other use of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a stricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his secret.

The bad reception Monsieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppressed with grief. After my deputation was finished, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curiosity led me to visit Monsieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiser; but it had only

\* From that time they always lived separate, notwithstanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occasion, and some others that are mentioned by L'Étoile. One day,

when the latter received some very sharp letters from Henry III. "The king, said he, in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by the first he calls me C—, and by the last the son of P—."



abated his pride. He received me with a kindness that I was far from thinking disinterested, and from which I immediately concluded, he had some great designs in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kissing his hand, convinced me I was not mistaken; but, amidst the great projects \* with which Monsieur was intoxicated, I discovered a melancholy and secret discontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languishing disorder, which some time after put an end to all his ambitious designs by death †.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon some very important affairs. He was endeavouring to disconcert, if possible, all the enterprizes of the league; a design, which this wise prince had always in view. He had occasion for a person on whose probity he could rely, to reside at the court of France, and study all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commission, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflexions to me, gave me all the necessary instructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me several times, saying, "My friend, remember, that the first quality in a man of true courage and worth, is to keep his word inviolably; that which I have given to you, I will

\* Monsieur took the titles of son of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Friesland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was

given him at his baptism, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

† There is not any historian who doubts that he died by poison. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burst. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened, says the Memoirs of Nevers, by his having lain with La—who made him smell a poisoned nosegay." Ibid. p. 163. Busbeq, Ep. 33. 35.

1583. "never fail in." There was no necessity for rack-  
 ing my invention, to furnish me with a pretence  
 for this second journey to Paris. The favour in  
 which I had left my two younger brothers \* at  
 that court, afforded me a very plausible one. They  
 had begun to create jealousy in the favourites, for  
 the king already made them his companions in his  
 parties of devotion, which was a step that was  
 likely to lead them to the greatest familiarity;  
 however, on my arrival, I learned that they were  
 disgraced; the reason of which I did not know till  
 a long time after, and it is of the number of those  
 things † that ought to be buried in oblivion. This  
 accident did not hinder me from entering upon  
 my new employment at Paris, and the court. I  
 gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all  
 that passed, that he might take such measures as  
 were most suitable to the state of his affairs.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged  
 me by the nature of the employment I had under-  
 taken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politest  
 company of the city, to share in their amuse-  
 ments, their pleasures, and even to be infected  
 with their idleness; and being besides in the prime  
 and strength of my age, it is not strange that I  
 should pay the accustomed tribute to love. I be-  
 came violently enamoured of the daughter of the  
 president de St. Mesmin, one of the most beautiful  
 ladies in France.

At first, I wholly abandoned myself to a passion,  
 which, in the beginning, is so delightful, that when  
 I would have stifled it afterwards, upon reflecting  
 that this alliance was not convenient for me, I  
 found that consideration too weak, when opposed

\* Solomon and Philip de Be-  
 thune. The first as eldest, was  
 called baron of Rosny, and was  
 governor of Mante. The second  
 has formed the branch of the counts  
 of Selles and Charost. By attaching  
 themselves to the person and party

of the king of France, they both  
 abjured the protestant religion, in  
 which they had been educated.

† Those who are curious to  
 know it, need only consult the  
 seventh chapter of the Confession  
 of Sancy.



to the friendship this whole family expressed for me, the esteem of a father truly respectable, and the charms of a mistress worthy my tenderest affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been sufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond \*, to divert the course of my thoughts, proposed to me to visit Mademoiselle de Courtenay †, whom he earnestly wished I would make my addressees to, as a person who, in all respects, was much more suitable to me. I saw her, and approved this choice; but Mademoiselle de St. Mesmin soon destroyed all these wise reflections.

Being one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this La Fond, and some other persons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, and mademoiselle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the most delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impossible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I should neglect to pay my first visit and assiduities. In a case of this nature, no artifice, no address can satisfy two women at the same time.

Mademoiselle de St. Mesmin's youngest sister coming down stairs at that moment, found me absorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reason with his love. She perceived it, and my confusion affording her a fine opportunity to display the vivacity of her wit, she endeavoured to draw me to her sister's feet; when La Fond approaching me, whisper'd in my ear, "Turn to the right, monsieur: there you will find a large estate, a royal extraction, and equal beauty, when it shall have attained to the age of perfection." These few words, so seasonably uttered, recalled my scattered reason, and fixed my

\* La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

† Anne de Courtenay, youngest daughter of Francis de Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

1583. wavering purpose. I was convinced the advice La Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiselle de Courtenay, and her rival, was, that the one was already in the possession of charms, which a year or two more promised the other. I sent an excuse for not attending mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageously sustained the assault, and went immediately after to visit mademoiselle de Courtenay, who valued this sacrifice at its full price. She was pleased with the preference; and I applauded myself for it, when I considered my new mistress with more attention, and that a few visits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addresses were favourably received, and a short time after this adventure we were married\*.

The tenderness and assiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Rosny this whole year, amidst rural employments, exercises, and diversions; another kind of life not less new to me than the former. The country, to those whose time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occasion of double expence; but it affords many resources to a man, who knows that good oeconomy supplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horses, which I had cultivated merely for my pleasure, did not make up a useless part of this domestic oeconomy. I kept jockeys in my service, whom I sent to buy horses in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and sold them in Gascony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large sums for them. I remember to have sold, amongst others, a silver roan-horse to the viscount de Chartres, for six hundred crowns, which cost me but forty. The tapestry which adorns the hall of Sully, in which are

\* Guy de Bethune, son of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Rosny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.



delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spanish horse that I had sold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns.

Towards the end of this year\*, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life so inactive: he informed me, that the time in which he had foreseen that the assistance of his faithful servants would be necessary, was now come: that the state and our religion were threatened with the severest misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not used to prevent them; and that he should soon have a cruel war to sustain. I instantly disposed myself to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occasions, as my own, forty eight thousand francs, which I raised by the sale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpose.

\* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the service of Spain for that of this prince, in order to find some opportunity of murdering him treacherously. "One day, says he, when the king of Navarre was hunting in the forests of Aillas, he perceived Michau just behind him, well mounted, with a couple of pistols cocked and primed. The king was alone and unattended, it being customary for hunters to separate; and seeing him approach, "Captain Michau, said he to him, with a bold and determined air, dismount; I have a mind to make trial of your horse, that I may know if it be as good a one as you say it is." The captain obeyed, and dismounting, the king got upon his horse, and taking the pistols, "Do you design to shoot me with

"one of these? said he: I am told, you intend to kill me, but in the mean time I can kill you if I please." Saying this, he discharged the two pistols in the air, and commanded the captain to follow him. Michau, having good reasons to desire to be excused, took leave of him two days after, and never appeared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Busbeq, who at that time resided at Paris, in the quality of ambassador from the emperor Rodolphus II. assures us also, in his Letters, that a deserter, whom he does not name, administered poison to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the strength of his constitution, or the weakness of the poison, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this same man having attempted afterwards to shoot him with a pistol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occasion, that he had no part in the designed assassination. Epistle 46.

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In effect, the bold enterprises of the league† broke out this year. One cannot reflect without

† The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an association of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of sixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the protestants. The manifesto that was there drawn up, served for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the states of Blois, which were summoned about the end of that year, and whose resolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himself the head of the catholics against the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the succession to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewise filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty the league made with the king of Spain at the castle of Joinville, and signed by the respective parties, with many other pieces on the same subject, vol. 8866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of state by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. ch. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many persons believe the origine

of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorraine, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guise on his side formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. 'Tis pretended also, that Don John of Austria passing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the duke of Guise. The college of Forteret has passed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis said that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that these Memoirs, which may be read in the first volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the first certainty of it. Some persons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return from thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not less probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words, "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to suppress calvinism, we shall bring the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered by a gentleman named La Rochette, to whom they were entrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis also certain, that the Duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in the year 1585, when he was still so weak, that he could not depend upon more than four thousand foot and a thousand horse.

horror,



1585.

horror, that in less than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned against him alone, through the weakness of Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himself the hand that sought to overthrow his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly raise the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to send the duke de Joyeuse \* into Normandy, to oppose the duke d'Elbœuf †, who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July ‡, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to mass, or to leave the kingdom in six months.

Joyeuse, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true interests. I gave him the best reception in my power, but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses.

Lavardin likewise took his way through Rosny, but to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot §, who would always give free scope to his

Beauvais Nangis also (and he relates it himself in his *Memoirs*) asked him one day what he intended to do if the king should come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany," replied "the duke, and there wait for a more favourable opportunity."

\* Anne duke of Joyeuse, the eldest of seven sons of William of Joyeuse.

† Claud of Lorrain.

‡ This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this shameful weakness of the

king of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face, which he supported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared ashamed himself; and by the same bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that assisted the huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the king and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the miseries that would befall France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the *Memoirs of Nevers*, p. 661, and following.

§ Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of

1585,

humour, resolved to divert himself at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and sending for him one day, told him with a mysterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewise to the duke of Joyeuse) prisoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt would be useless, tho' it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not spare him.

What I am now going to say, will hardly appear credible. We set out together, and had scarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majesty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to support him against the league\*, should be led against the king

Lorraine, count of Chaligny, in the thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying,

"Here, keep what I give thee."

The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence.

When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My

friend, I see very well that all you do will signify nothing, unless you either turn catholic or

pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am

convinced that to be peaceably king of France, you would give

both papists and huguenots to Lucifer's clerks: so true it is,

that you kings have no religion but in appearance." "I am

not surprized, said he, another time to his majesty, that so many

persons desire to be kings: it is a good trade, and by working

"at it only an hour in a day, one

"may make sufficient provision for the rest of the week, with-

"out being obliged to one's neighbours; but for God's sake, my

"friend, take care and keep out of the hands of the leaguers,

"for if you should fall into some of them, they would hang you

"up like a hog's gut, and write upon your gibbet, At the crown

"of France and Navarre, are good lodgings to be lett." *Memoirs*

for the history of France, vol. II. p. 72.

\* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were

assembled there. He secretly excused himself to the king of Navarre, upon the necessity he was

driven to. This prince and the queen his mother suffered themselves to be unseasonably intimi-

dated by the threats of the league, whose forces were exaggerated,

although it would not have been difficult to have destroyed them in

the beginning. The council missed

of



of Navarre. Joyeuse, in relating this to me, added, "Well! Monsieur le Baron de Rosny, this stroke will give me a cheap bargain of your fine horses, for the war is declared against the protestants: but I persuade myself, continued he, that you will not be so simple as to join the king of Navarre, and by embarking in a cause that will infallibly be ruined, lose your fine estate of Rosny."

The duke might have spoken much longer without interruption; for although I was sufficiently acquainted with the court, so that nothing from that quarter could surprize me, yet I could not reflect, without astonishment, upon those difficulties through which fortune seemed to take a pleasure in leading the king of Navarre, before she conducted him to that greatness which was destined for him; for I was always persuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of La Brosse were continually present to me. My answer, therefore, to Joyeuse, turned wholly upon these presages; after which I quitted him abruptly. This step might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he said to those about him, "There goes a consummate fool; but he will be finely deluded by his forcerer."

I returned to my house, from whence I set out again immediately, after taking some new measures conformable to the sudden change which had so lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and staid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations against the storm that was bursting upon him. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held several conferences with the protestants upon the part it was ne-

cessary  
an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by sending them to the king, provided he would march with his troops on back the deputies from those provinces, without an answer, who that side. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi,

1585. necessary they should take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occasion, when all was at stake, they did not understand their true interest sufficiently, at least so as to oblige them to a perfect union amongst themselves, and a faithful concurrence in the same designs. From that time, some of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without considering that their fortunes were so closely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impossible for them to succeed. Each was for building a fortune for himself, independent of the general plan.

This disunion of minds shewed itself more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, sent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viscount de Turenne gave the first indications of that turbulent, false, and ambitious spirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new system\* of government, into which they had drawn Messieurs de Constans, D'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the Calvinist part of France into a kind of republican state, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or six lieutenants in his name were to be sent into the different provinces.

If we examine this project, it will easily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to these gentlemen, since, by this plan, they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the protestant party, and reduced them all to the qua-

\* The historian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that these were the views of this calvinist nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, passionately desirous of the quality of leader of the calvinists of France, and very capable of filling that post. This is all that can be said of him, to soften those terms, rather too severe, which monsieur de Sully frequently makes use of in these Memoirs, when he speaks of the duke of Bouillon.



lity of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. 1585.  
 This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, amongst his dependants, and, in appearance, most faithful servants, and even amongst his own friends and relations.

From men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of society, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes, and wishes. But how could these consummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little subjection to a protector too weak to make himself be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their design was to make themselves so many sovereigns in their several districts, not foreseeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the discretion of Spain, and the league, who would easily destroy them, by attacking them separately.

Although these cabals of the principal officers in the protestant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the assembly. The duke of Montmorency\* was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and keep ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the necessity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of these councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aside said to me, " Monsieur le Baron de Rosny, it is not enough to speak well, we must act still better: are you not resolved that we shall die together? it is no longer time to be frugal; all men of honour, and who have their religion at heart, must ven-

\* This is Henry, marechal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

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“ ture one half of their estates to save the other.  
 “ I am persuaded, that you will be amongst the  
 “ first to assist me, and I promise you, if I suc-  
 “ ceed, you shall partake of my good fortune.”  
 “ No, no, sir, replied I, we will not die, but we  
 “ will live together, and make our enemies shorter  
 “ by their heads. I have still a wood that will  
 “ produce me a hundred thousand franks, and all  
 “ shall be employed on this occasion; you shall  
 “ give me more when you are rich, which will  
 “ certainly happen: I had a preceptor who was  
 “ possessed by a devil, and he foretold it me.”  
 The king of Navarre could not help smiling at this  
 folly, and embracing me closely, “ Well, my  
 “ friend, said he to me, return to your house, be  
 “ diligent, and come to me soon again, with as  
 “ many of your friends as you can bring with you,  
 “ and do not forget your wood of high trees.”  
 He afterwards communicated to me the design he  
 had to draw the war to Paris, or at least to the  
 Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of  
 succeeding. He told me also, that he carried on  
 a private correspondence in Angers, but that he  
 feared the prince of Condé would by his precipi-  
 tation obstruct his designs there, more than the  
 catholics: the event will shew if he judged rightly.  
 He promised to inform me of all that passed, and  
 took leave of me, with a thousand testimonies of  
 friendship, which I shall never forget.

I arrived at Bergerac, almost in the same mo-  
 ment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt\*, M. de  
 Sillery, and M. de Poigny came thither also, being  
 deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to  
 represent to him, for the last time, the necessity he  
 was under of submitting to the king's pleasure, and  
 of changing his religion†. Poigny came to me

\* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal  
 and archbishop of Rheims, Nicolas  
 Brulart, marquis of Sillery, after-  
 wards chancellor, John D'Angen-

nes, lord of Poigny.

† In the Memoirs of the life of  
 J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a  
 conversation which Michael de



the next day, disclosing to me the purport of his commission, and asked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I assured him that he was giving himself an useless trouble; and that on an occasion when religion, the state, and the royal authority were in so great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He shrugged up his shoulders, sighed at my answer, and instead of replying, "I believe," said he to me, it will be a difficult thing to procure a mass in this city." I conducted him to the chapel myself with the other deputies, being desirous to persuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the protestants were masters, that we were not the real enemies of the king.

What I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commission, exactly happened. As for me, I continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the de-

Montagne had with this president, that the reader may not be displeased to see here. "As they were discoursing, says the author, upon the causes of the present troubles, Montagne told the president, that he had been a mediator between the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise, when these princes were at the court; and that the latter by his cares, his services, and affiduities, made advances to gain the king of Navarre's friendship; but finding that he made a jest of him, and that after all his endeavours he was still an implacable enemy, he had recourse to war as the last resource to defend the honour of his family; that the enmity which raged in the minds of these two persons, was the cause of a war, which was at present so far kindled, that only the death of one of them could extinguish it; that neither the duke, or any of his family, believed

"themselves secure, while the king of Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his side, was persuaded, that he should draw no advantage from his right of succession to the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion, added he, which they both make such a noise about, it is a good pretence to procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The fear of being abandoned by the protestants, is the sole cause that prevents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his ancestors, nor would the duke recede from the confession of Augsbourg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, had convinced him, that he might follow it without prejudice to his interest. These, he said, were the sentiments he discovered in these princes, when he was employed in their affairs."

1585. sign of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, since the shameful step the king had taken, ruled despotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a necessity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I addressed myself, and I had some conference with Mess. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon \* the elder, d'Aumont, de la RocheGuion, des Arpentis, and some others. They all assured me, that when once the king of Navarre should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I was able in these good resolutions †, and after I had bought some horses at Paris, I made haste to procure those sums I had promised the king.

I learnt by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a distinct account of it, it is necessary to take the story a little higher. Brissac ‡, who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, called captain Grec, with twenty soldiers on whose fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of these soldiers, having formerly been of the reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them, which would necessarily be followed by the surrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre against the league, a third party

\* Nicholas D'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John D'Aumont, marechal of France. — de Silly, count of RocheGuion. Lewis du Bois, lord of Arpentis,

master of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

† Monsieur de Rosny's negotiation with Henry III. is mentioned by De Thou, book lxxxii.

‡ Charles de Cossy, count de Brissac,



was formed, headed by Du Hallot\*, who likewise endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Fresne, so were the two soldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this state; the two soldiers, press'd by the prince of Condé, surprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with some of his men: after which they seized upon the castle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had so lately happened at court, gave himself no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he satisfied the people, by representing to them, that the two soldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the castle, he himself experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Fresne, and, through his mistake, suffered death upon the wheel †.

1585.

Hitherto every thing succeeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they soon experienced the instability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the castle invested, perceiving that their design was to surprize the place, and make him their prisoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, those within the castle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemort grasped the chains, which losing from his hold he fell into the ditch, where a stag that was feeding dispatched him by tearing him in pieces. Fresne only remained, who, two days after, as he was sleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himself in safety, was killed by a carabine, shot from the other side of the river, at the distance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics drove out the rest of the huguenots from the city and castle, with the same facility that they had seized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of

\* Michael Bourrouge du Hallot.  
Lewis Bouchereau, de Rochemorte.  
Leon de Fresne.

† The king was so much afraid of the league, that he publicly disavowed Du Hallot's enterprize.

1585. Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have suffered the two conspirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gates to support them with his whole army.

This ill-concerted scheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the siege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had surprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he should quit the siege, but went immediately to the assistance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his designs. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and dispersed, assembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all possibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himself, as we shall see presently, into a danger, from whence he escaped but by a singular instance of good fortune.

After this first act of hostility on the protestant side, I believed it would be no longer possible to keep any measures with the catholics. If to continue at Rosny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overspread with royalists, it was no less so to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I resolved upon this last expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my assistance than in the present conjuncture; and that the difficulty of sending dispatches through the midst of an enemy's army, was the only cause of my not hearing from him as he had promised. \* Messieurs de Moui, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my design, judging it to be too hazardous, refused to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from setting out on my journey, attended only by six gentlemen, and my domestics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were six thousand crowns.

\* Isaac Vaudré, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. — de Pas-Feuquieres.



I lay the first night at Nonancourt \*, and the second at Chateaudun †. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me; for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic soldiers, yet they all supposed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuse's army; with whom, as a soldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, lest I should be discovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing to be known by Bénéhart ‡, I made Boisbreuil, one of the gentlemen in my train, pass for the master of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domestics, upon a horse that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongst us, was asked several questions, to which he made proper answers, and we were suffered to pass. We traversed the whole city, in order to lodge in the most distant part of the suburbs. Bénéhart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had assured him we were, very obligingly sent to advise us to return into the city, because the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulsed before Angers, was dispersed over the country, and sometimes made excursions to the gates of the city, which rendered our stay in the suburbs very dangerous. What he represented to us as a misfortune we should have looked upon as a very great happiness; but there was a necessity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended master of the equipage, seeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horses again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a domestic, secretly to protract our stay till the night approached. The hurry and confusion, occasioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept

\* In Perche.

† In the county of Chartrain.

‡ James de Maille de Bénéhart, governor of Vendome.

1585.

our artifice unsuspected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the rest; but after our horses had been fed and refreshed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, instead of entering the city, filed off into a bye street, which I had caused to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that side, where I supposed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reason to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved so successful, would occasion our ruin, through the impossibility of distinguishing readily, what party those whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A mistake might cost us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, tho' with sufficient uneasiness, thinking it necessary not to alter our usual answer. In effect, the first we met with was a company of light-armed horse, commanded by Falandre. To the question, which was, *Qui vive*, we replied, *Vive le Roy*; and Falandre examining us no further, advised us to join him, lest we should meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he assured us was not far off; adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of *argoulets* \*, who were coming after. These last words furnished us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reasons for not following the same route with him, and for waiting to take our measures from the answer we should receive from the *argoulets*. In reality, we were no less apprehensive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying still upon the good fortune of escaping, by means of our disguise. Accordingly, we did not fail to the question, *Qui vive*, which was asked us by the next company we met, to an-

\* So called from the bows with which they were at first armed. They served on foot or on horseback, as our dragoons do at present. When the arquebuses were first in use, they were called horse-archers; and it is by this name they are generally called in these Memoirs.



swer boldly, *Vive le Roy*, being persuaded that we spoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This supposition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for these argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a distance, dispersed, and threw themselves into the woods. Instead of them, therefore, these whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we soon comprehended by the whole troop's falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to surrender. At that moment, I plainly distinguished three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other situation to have made myself known to; but I reflected, that in such sort of encounters, the first word, the first motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally understood as a refusal to surrender, and followed by a discharge of the piece close to the breast. Instead, therefore, of naming myself, or those officers, I behaved like a man who yields himself prisoner, and marched after the rest; till coming near Messieurs de Clermont\* and St. Gelais, whom I surprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be restored to me, and likewise the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The prince of Condé came up soon after these four companies: he could scarcely believe what he saw, so bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after supping very temperately out of wooden dishes; and when the time came which obliged us to separate, the prince, who was so thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head against a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himself against a strong detachment, and being likewise in a province where he was sought for in all parts, would have had me to receive him into my company, in

\* George de Clermont d'Amboise, marquis of Gallerande.

1585. the quality of a private gentleman. He was so well known, that I could not yield to his request, without ruining both him and myself. I intreated him, therefore, to dispense with my compliance; and making the same excuse to the duke de la Trémouille\*, charged myself only with Messieurs de Fors, Du Pleffis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it still more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horse, than to march with a small retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the most considerable consisted only of twenty horse, making them take bye-ways, and marching himself through the same roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times escaped the pursuits of his enemies.

Nor indeed was I less fortunate myself. To the artifices I had already made use of I added another, which succeeded wonderfully: I assumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myself look more youthful, cut off my beard and mustaches. This, however, did not disguise me so well, but that through every place I passed, I could hear people about me say, that I perfectly resembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the questions that might be asked me, I took the style of a zealous partizan of the league, spread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat†, and the rout of the protestant forces by the duke of Joyeuse; by which means I arrived safe at Chateau-Renaud. The great difficulty was how to pass the Loire; yet this I accomplished, through the assistance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occasion like a true friend. I received, likewise, some services from M. de Montbazon. As soon as I arrived at Montbazon, he sent me a present of wine and fruit, and treated me with so much kindness in fe-

\* Claude duke de la Trémouille.

† In Touraine.



veral other instances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and staid there three days, which was no more than necessary, as our horses began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazou \*, which happened soon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of shewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the state so nearly at heart.

1585.

Favoured by my new disguise, I traversed Châtelleraud and Poitiers. At Ville-fagnan †, meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I resolved to draw some advantage from this encounter. The Swiss were not displeased with any thing I said to them, because I always took care to provide them each morning with a repast; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even discovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not separate while I could possibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when passing the river at St. Marfau ‡, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other side; and having this advantage of him, I gained the house of § M. de Neufvy. At Marton || I went down, as usual, into the suburbs, and immediately, through a strange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard; but the reflexions I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to

\* He was slain at the battle of Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Arques. Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet

† Upon the confines of Poitou, de Fayoles, lord of Neufroy, his and Saintonge. eldest, was in the party of the

‡ A village in Saintonge. league.

§ The youngest son was called || In Angoumois.

1585.



me, " Monsieur, I do not desire to know who you are; but if you are a huguenot, and leave this place, you will perish; five miles distant from hence there is an ambush of fifty horse, well armed, which I believe is designed against you." I thanked this man for his kindness, without seeming discomposed by what he had told me, and coldly answered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush, appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

That I might be assured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my servants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberish of a peasant, disguise himself like one; and after instructing him what he was to do, sent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambush was posted.

Perigordin meeting these fifty horsemen, told them, in answer to the questions they asked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having missed their blow, but resolved to return to the same place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report. I set out that moment, and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no instance of kindness was ever lost, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely sensible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had exposed myself. He would make me acquaint him with the least particulars relating to my journey, especially the rencounter I had with the prince

of



of Condé, and the slippery condition in which I had left him. 1586.

'Tis impossible to describe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he saw three powerful armies marching against him. Those of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuse were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thousand franks I had brought with me, proved a very seasonable supply to this prince, who could not have raised such a sum in his whole court. We marched towards Castillon and Montsegur \*, which Matignon made a shew of besieging; but he falling suddenly upon Castets, we were obliged to turn to that side, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raise this siege.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could resist the efforts of two armies, whose numbers were so superior to ours, we were thrown into the greatest consternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what resolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre should retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he should go still farther; and a third advised him to pass over to England, from whence, after he had secured some powerful succours, he should go and put himself at the head of those that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I saw this advice, which would leave the protestant party in France without any resource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre desiring to know my opinion, I represented to him, that our affairs were

\* Cities of Gascony, in the bishopric of Aire.

1586. not reduced to such an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once more to make head against them every where; which did not appear to be impossible, by leaving, for example, the viscount de Turenne, with a small body of troops, such as could be got together, to act upon the defensive in Guienne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the same in Languedoc, and Lefdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king should reserve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himself, till the foreign troops, that were now very soon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality. The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, the duke of Maienne is not so peevish a boy, but that he will permit me to walk up and down a little longer in Guyenne." He then gave some orders before he set out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the present conjuncture rendered absolutely necessary.

He staid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and seized all the passages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he saw himself upon the point of being shut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king resolving to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage\*; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horse, and took the road towards Castel-ge-loux†. When he was got half way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were best mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed Sainte-foy‡ for a place

\* See this passage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides in D'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other historians,

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guyenne, upon the Dordogne.



of rendezvous for all the rest: then, turning short, 1586. struck into a road amidst woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived at Caumont\*, where he slept three hours. We passed the river after sun-set, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the rest of his men, who had divided into small platoons, arrived also by different ways, without the least loss, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exasperated at this disappointment of his hopes, went to discharge all his rage upon Montignac le Comte †, where captain Roux, and serjeant More defended themselves so courageously, against his whole army, that he could not oblige them to surrender, but by granting them the most honourable conditions.

This general found less resistance in Sainte Bazeile ‡. Despueilles, the governor of that small place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a very brave man: which inspired me with an inclination to shut myself up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permission I asked of him; at last, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myself into Sainte Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houses all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out some time, but Despueilles being seized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himself into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleased. The king

\* Another city of Guienne.

† A city of Bazadois upon the

‡ A city of Perigord upon the Dordogne.

Vezere.

1586. of Navarre, at the first confused reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his displeasure fell upon Despuelles, which was increased by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he presented himself before him to excuse his conduct, that if he had been there himself, he could not have acted otherwise. The king of Navarre put him under an arrest, from which, eight days after, he was released at our solicitations.

The king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the last extremity, and after having disputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into Monfégur \*, Castillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him six thousand livres more, to fortify Mont-flanquin, where Bethune † commanded. At last, fearing some fatal accident on the side of Rochelle, he left some troops in Guyenne, under the command of the viscount de Turenne, and took the road to that city, by Pons, and Saint Jean d'Angely ‡.

There were moments in which Henry III. enraged at the shameful part the league obliged him to act, wished ardently to find some means of revenging himself §: but willing to do this without danger, rejected always the thought that often presented itself to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre, and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiss catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the succours which some time before had been demanded of this republic; the king, who was then in one of his temporary fits of anger against the league, resolved to make use of these Swiss, which, with the troops that were at his own disposal, and those he might expect

\* Upon the Dordogne.

† Florestan de Bethune.

‡ Cities of Saintonge.

§ It was in these moments that

he said, as L'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; speaking of the leaguers, and the huguenots.



from the king of Navarre, would form a body of 1586.   
men capable of reducing the league to reason. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new designs, desired him to send a person in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the use they were to make of the Swifs. A blank passport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately.

I arrived at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the house of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and staid the rest of that day, and on the next he presented me to the king. I shall never forget the fantastick and extravagant equipage and attitude in which I found this prince in his cabinet: he had a sword at his side, a Spanish hood hung down upon his shoulders, a little cap, such as collegians wear, upon his head, and a basket full of little dogs hung to a ribband about his neck. He continued in a posture so fixed, and so immoveable, that in speaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, or feet. He began by giving vent to his indignation against the league, which made me conclude he had received some new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but some remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impossible, while the king of Navarre persisted in his resolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the king in answer, that it would be in vain to propose such an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it must act against his conscience; which, were he capable of doing, would not produce what his majesty hoped from it; that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that so precipitate an action would deprive the

1586. king of Navarre of all the assistance he might expect from the protestants, without drawing one man from the league; but, on the contrary, such a weakness would increase the pride of their common enemies. The king did not fail to answer my reasons; but I still persisted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms proposed to him, could bring only his single person to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the sacrifice of his religion, he would strengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the state. I had a conference, to the same effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made some impression on them both, at first, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, despair of prevailing upon them to strike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majesties treated with me, I had reason to flatter myself I should succeed.

I left them in these favourable dispositions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiss deputies, and brought them to my purpose with very little difficulty. It cost me nothing, but a small expence in provisions, especially wine; for which they promised, without any limitation, a body of ten thousand Swiss; four thousand of which were to stay in Dauphiny, and the other six thousand to be employed in the service, and at the discretion of the two kings. The king of France again assured me by Mess. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his sentiments were not altered, and that he passionately wished for the union; which was not less earnestly desired by the king of Navarre: in the dispatches I received from him almost every day, he exhorted me to use all my endeavours to

and to secure



secure its success, and even to sacrifice for that purpose some part of his interest. 1586.

At my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and asked what use he would make of the six thousand Swiss, and to what place he designed they should go. The king demanded, that they should be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a necessity for it, serve him against the league. I foresaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the express command of the king of Navarre, who thought so small a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be soon seen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the consequence of this imprudent compliance.

The treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I resolved to depart from court, leaving only Mansilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the first favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the assistance of Messieurs de Clairvant\*, and de Guित्रy, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the protestants of those countries had promised the king of Navarre. This design Mansilliere executed very happily. As for me, I staid but eight days at Rosny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well satisfied with the success of my commission.

This prince could not resolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furnish him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horse, and three cannons; these he gave to the duke de la Tremouille, for the reduction of

\* Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.

1586. Talmont \*, which he could not endure to see in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and some other officers.

The town having no fortifications, we seized it without opposition, and began immediately to attack the castle; the walls of which were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon some speedy supplies that Malicorne † had engaged to bring him; which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours: I embarked for that place to fetch a supply of powder, with which we were not sufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we should find it very difficult to succeed with so small a number of men. The king soon raised two thousand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and shipped them on board of three vessels, which during three days were in danger of perishing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three vessels cast anchor there, one after another, and the besieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing supplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack Chizai ‡. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himself bravely. He made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the last extremity. I took notice of a singular accident that happened there: the princess Catherine having sent the steward of her household with a

\* A city of Lower Poitou.

† In Upper Poitou, upon the

‡ John de Souches, lord of Boutonne, Malicorne,



letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horse, and came out at his breast, yet the beast continued standing near ten minutes after. 1586.

Another shot from an arquebuse was the cause of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal message to the king of Navarre, concerning some important affairs, was shot dead at the feet of this prince, having only had time to say that he came from Heidelberg, from Messieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was sent to inform the king, that the German horse, and other protestant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it most proper they should march. Some were for their entering France, by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their rout by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the side of the Loire. Messieurs de Montmorency and de Chatillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was so great a diversity of opinions known, and unhappily the worst prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtless, because the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make use of them against the league, or at least to keep it in awe. It is not probable that the king of Navarre would have consented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cause that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

This prince, by a continuance of the same good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant\*; the noise of five or six cannons, which till that time were seldom made use of in sieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his success, and seeing himself reinforced with two hun-

\* Other cities of Upper Poitou,

1586. dred horse, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault \*, whom he had just made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himself strong enough to undertake the siege of Fontenay, the second place for strength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant, that in this place there was a brave governor, and a strong garrison. The governor, whose name was La Roussiere, resolved to defend not only the city, but suburb Des Loges also, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itself, and surrounded with a great moat; to which was added strong barricadoes, which closed up the entrance of this suburb. The king of Navarre sent La Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this suburb in a very dark night. I joined Messieurs de Dangeau †, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Brasseufes, Le Chene, and two or three others. We posted ourselves at one side of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our pistols at our girdles, with a design either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulsed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or six hogsheds of dung upon us, from which we were apprehensive we should not soon disengage ourselves; but our party having at that instant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies seeing us masters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having first set fire to it, to protract our pursuit, lest by following them too close, we should in their confusion enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the finest houses in the suburb, where we found all things in

\* Francis de la Rochefoucault, St. Bartholomew. He was killed prince of Marillac, son of him in 1591.  
 † Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.



great abundance. The only inconvenience we suffered, was from the small shot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houses very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this suburb, it was impossible to enter it without being exposed to continual discharges. One day, when I came out of my own house to go to the king's, which was the most beautiful in the suburb, a ball, as I was passing thro' the street, crushed my head-piece, just as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I caused a rope to be instantly fastened across the street, and by means of some cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the besieged from seeing at least those that passed.

We afterwards applied ourselves without ceasing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this siege: he conducted the miners himself, after he had taken all the necessary precautions to hinder supplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were strictly guarded, as likewise great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horse, at the ford of a river, I heard the noise of trampling of horses at a distance, which made me conclude I should be attacked. This noise ceased for some minutes, then began again with more violence; and came so near, that I prepared for defence. I suffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were just ready to fire, I perceived the occasion of our alarm to be a number of horses and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the first to laugh at this adventure; but in secret I was not sorry that I had given orders to the person whom I pitched upon to go for assistance, not to set out till we were engaged in fight.

At

1586.



At this siege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was so far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the soldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the first who perceived this; he spoke, and made himself known to the besieged; who were so astonished at hearing him name himself from the bottom of these subterraneous places, that they demanded leave to capitulate. The proposals were all made by this uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated by the king of Navarre, whose word was known by the besieged to be so inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cause to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding so noble, granted the garrison military honours, and preserved the city from pillage.

A woman of the city having killed a fat hog the same day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garrison had surrendered, devised a pleasant stratagem, to deprive the rapacious soldiers of their prey. She made her husband hide himself, and wrapping the dead animal in a sheet, laid it, by the help of some friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to understand the cause of her lamentations; the priests were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral procession a-cross the suburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permission. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, some persons posted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by some soldiers, who driving them from thence, discovered the truth, and seized the prey. One may easily imagine the secret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a priest, to whom this woman, prest with remorse of conscience,



science, had revealed it, published the adventure every where. 1586.

The king of Navarre leaving the lord of La-Boulaye \* governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the situation of which he found so advantageous, that he resolved to make it a regular fortress, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops took Mauléon likewise, and afterwards the castle of La-Garnache †; from whence Monsieur de Genevois ‡ drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the sea-side, whither her son still pursued her, but falling this time into her hands, she in her turn made him prisoner of war.

I was not present at either of these sieges; the melancholy news I received from Rosny obliged me to go thither. During my stay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my castle and estate of Rosny, together with necessary passports for going thither when I pleased. It was this liberty that made me easy with regard to my wife, at a time when all sorts of outrages against the protestants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almost wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had lost the greatest part of her domestics; and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring forests, she had passed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the castle of Huet, belonging to madame de Com-

\* Charles Echallard, lord of La-Boulaye.

† Other strong places in the Lower Poitou.

‡ D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady of La-Garnache, says he, sister to the duke of Rohan, held the city of La-Garnache, and the castle of Beauvois upon the sea in neutrality. Her son, called prince of Genevois, by his

" mother's marriage with the duke of Nemours, seized La-Garnache, by means of a correspondence he held with the domestics. He made the same attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken prisoner by his mother. The result of all which was, that the king of Navarre interesting himself in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the same means the place."

1586. pagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when she knew I was so near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongst persons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, she ordered the gates to be shut upon me. She had too much occasion for assistance and consolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithstanding her resistance, and staid a month in this house, having only two gentlemen, and as many domestics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troublesome visitors from my house. I was not wholly useless to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant still owed me twenty-four thousand livres, and I prest for the payment of it. The persecution that was declared against the protestants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear lest this money, together with all my estates, should be confiscated for the use of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thousand livres.

As soon as the contagion ceased, I carried my wife back to Rosny, after having taken the necessary precautions to purify the house; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuse, whose march had hitherto been slow, and his operations very inconsiderable, was advancing hastily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had just then been repulsed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impossible to keep all his fortresses against forces so superior to his, he caused the greatest part of them to be rased and dismantled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant\*. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, seeming to promise a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt,

\* All these places are in Poitou.



impatient to know the success. All was already over; in one moment the whole design was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a mystery absolutely incomprehensible to those who know not what changes, a prince who delivers himself up to irresolution, idleness, and timidity, is capable of assuming in affairs of state: nothing is more dangerous than a mind thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult situations, all things ought not to be trusted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular design, every step that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wise and cool reflections. A necessary peace cannot be too earnestly desired, nor concluded too soon; but in critical circumstances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in suspense, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like these that Catherine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it lasted but a moment, never held out to the end; and so timorously was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the present evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all those that have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves things that are near, in such a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and see those at a distance as through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

To this fault of never being able to resolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another still greater \*. This was the use of I know not what kind of little affected dissimulation, or to say better, a wretched study of

\* It has been asserted, that the interest of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French."

1586.  hypocrisy and deceit, without which she imagined her politics could not subsist: the first of these errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the last tied the hands of those who might have assisted us to prevent it: What could we expect but to be ruined by it sooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of resolution to make use of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with those of the king of Navarre; by which means he might crush the enemies of his authority: he neglected to prosecute this design, and the consequence was, that he saw himself reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as shameful to the memory of this prince.

Catherine had recourse to her usual artifices, and thought she performed a great deal, because she endured the fatigue of a long journey: she went into Poitou, and had several conferences with the king of Navarre \* at Cognac, Saint-Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes she endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the sight of the considerable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whose efforts, she told him, she had hitherto suspended. In a word, she forgot nothing which she thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret she saw the league in a condition to oppress the king of Navarre, because it was not her interest that his ruin should be

\* The queen asking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies she had brought with her, "There is nothing here, madam, that I would have." Perefix's history of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine pressing him to make some overture, "Madam, said he, there is no overture here for me," vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Brix the 25th of September. "He was hunting  
 " one day at Saint Brix, and wanting to shew that his horse was more lively than two very fine ones belonging to Bellièvre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge frightened his horse, who threw him upon the earth, where he lay senseless, bleeding at the nose and mouth. They carried him like one dead to the castle. However, two or three days after he disappeared." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.



accomplished by that means. But what security did she give this prince, by the rash and unseasonable measures she wanted to engage him in? Had he not reason to believe, that the proposal she was constantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful snare to deprive him of all assistance from the protestants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that justified these apprehensions; for those conferences at which I was present with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies D'Uzes, and De Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other persons, and by whom I was loved with so much tenderness, that they always called me their son. In order to come to the knowledge of their real sentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only suspected, and complained that the queen-mother made use of all her endeavours to sacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me in confidence, that they believed religion served Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in such a state, that the king of Navarre could no otherwise extricate himself from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They protested to me afterwards, that they saw with grief the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince. These words I have always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was so much cultivated as falshood.

Whatever were the queen-mother's \* intentions, she returned without obtaining any thing; and

\* " After a long conversation, " who loved nothing so much as  
 " the queen-mother asking him if " peace; he answered, Madam, I  
 " the trouble she had been at was " am not the cause of it; it is  
 " to produce no other fruit, she " not I who hinders you from

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Joyeuse with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entrusted to Joyeuse was a second mystery : Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretensions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had succeeded ? Was it, on the contrary, the discovery of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a post, wherein he was assured this ungrateful man would perish, or at least miscarry ? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his presence, who had now a rival in his affections ? for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the most solid causes : but was it not rather to enhance the lustre of his favour by an employment so distinguished ? Such was the spirit of the court, that conjectures, the most opposite, were supported by equal probabilities. What seems, however, to determine in favour of the last supposition, is, that the army which Joyeuse commanded was composed of the best forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

The king of Navarre employed himself chiefly in putting Saint-Maixant in a condition of defence ; he went thither with so much haste and precipitation, that sinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himself into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he slept as in a bed. To prevent the provision with which he had stored Saint-Maixant from being consumed, he ordered the two regiments of Charbonnières \*, and Des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be posted at La Motte

“ sleeping in your bed, it is you

“ that prevents me from resting

“ in mine ; the trouble you give

“ yourself pleases, and nourishes

“ you ; peace is the greatest enemy

“ of your life.” *Perefix, part i.*

\* Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnières,



Sainte-Eloi. and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All these precautions could not prevent the reduction of this last place, and its castle, nor that of Saint-Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, amongst others that belonging to Despueilles, which was beat almost within sight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made these misfortunes still more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons and the stragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuse led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I posted myself with fifty horse in the forest of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of striking some blow. A soldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to observe the order and motions of the enemy's army, told us, that he saw a detachment advancing some paces before the first battalions. Those who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they supposed it would not be difficult to subdue, before any assistance could come up to it. I did not relish this proposal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, seldom succeeded; and I restrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with an eager desire to come to blows with them. We saw this detachment pass by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could easily count. The last ranks marched so close, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the sentinel informed us, that he saw two small squadrons of fifty or sixty horse each, marching at a great distance from each other. I would have suffered the first to pass by, but it was impossible now to restrain the impetuosity of the soldiers; we fell upon the first with such fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many prisoners, and the rest saved themselves

1587. selves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified for not having followed my own opinion, when I found the second troop was composed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuse himself at their head, he having stopped at Surgeres \*, to refresh himself with a collation there. When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me smiling, that he perceived I was willing to spare the duke's squadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to see Rochelle, I obtained a passport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort soon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been proposed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke of Joyeuse would not permit it to be executed.

I found this general gloomy and discontented, and guessed so truly the cause of his uneasiness, that when he told me he should soon set out for Montresor, I replied without hesitation, that he could go very easily from thence to the court. At these words he turned towards my brother, as accusing him of having revealed what had passed. Tho' he knew that there was nothing it, he imagined his disgrace was certain, since the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his resolution to go and destroy, by his presence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his sentiments, and coldly answered, that I suffered myself to be deceived by my too great discernment; and endeavoured to persuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was so well assured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper

\* A town in the country of Aunis.



measures for drawing some advantage from an absence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewise: in effect, Joyeuse was no sooner set out than his whole army, already badly disciplined, lived without order and obedience.

The king of Navarre, who had secretly assembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Resnel, Ronsey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftner than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to La Haye in Touraine\*, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power. The soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and neglecting their safety to get provisions, we passed the river, and surprised them every moment.

During this short space of time, we killed and took above six hundred men. With six horse only, I went into a village full of soldiers; they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enlisted in his troops.

The count of Soissons†, who was discontented with the court, had long given the king of Na-

\* Upon the confines of Poitou.

† Charles of Bourbon, fourth son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé,

of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

1587. varre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable disposition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Saissons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre sent all his troops to Rosiers, to facilitate this prince's passage over the river. They served him likewise to seize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that escorted it, was attacked so suddenly near a bank, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to two thousand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave La Haye.

This service was repaid by another of the same kind; they procured me a passport for Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the protestants was at its height. On which side soever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a soldier, in order to pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were exposed to rigorous searches, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too severely executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, while they know not how far their rights\* and duties with regard to religion

\* 'Tis true, it never has been demonstrated, that religion obliges sovereigns to persecute those who make profession of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully establishes here from being very dangerous, in that they seem to discharge kings from that indispensable obligation they are under

to preserve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worship, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly observed; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wise policy, as to those of religion; a fatal experience having but too well shewn, that it is much more necessary to prevent all disputes

extend.



extend. They cannot punish with too much severity, a crime by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded. A religion that is capable of authorising such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their jurisdictions does not extend over consciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions; the sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cause of great misery to the protestants: those whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion.

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My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the apprehensions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me resolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the gaol of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a

upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession Monsieur de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs of that spirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the steps of the calvinist party in France, it is strange he is not sensible that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of the law. This

place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here on the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning.

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citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the protestants did not cease to meet in churches, and hold assemblies, notwithstanding the severe informations that were made against them. At this very time, several women were burnt upon that occasion; the dangers I ran myself were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not being known, which was indeed an amazing instance of good fortune.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent, that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux; from whence I took a bye-road to Rosny.

The duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was soon informed. He endeavoured by all possible means to make satisfaction for this loss, which in the disposition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the secret practices of his enemies, and his favour \* with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him, and he set out again for Guyenne with the flower of the French nobility, while several other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

\* " In his embassy to Rome, he " king's anti-chamber, he excused himself by resigning up to them a hundred thousand crowns which the king had just given him," Notes upon the Henriade.



These different marches of the troops made the roads so dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my passport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got safe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, messieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the duke of Joyeuse. They only served to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guyenne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnais, towards the source of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made use of all his endeavours to accomplish this junction, before the troops of Joyeuse were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La Roche-Chalais\*, but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should lose an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the king of Navarre's, that this resolution could not be accused of rashness and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by necessity, instead of seeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might pursue his march without opposition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had several strong forts which might stop the enemy's pursuit.

\* Cities upon the borders of the Dordogne, as were Chalais, and Auberterre, of Guyenne, and Périgord.

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With these dispositions on both sides, the king of Navarre arrived at the pass of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras \*, a post that might favour this passage, and no less to Joyeuse to hinder it. He sent Lavardin to possess himself of it; but La Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himself in it, after a very sharp skirmish. The king of Navarre resolved to take advantage of this post to attempt the pass, and marched thither in the night, reserving to himself the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was necessary to make use of all possible dispatch, we set ourselves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other side of the river, when the scouts, whom the king of Navarre had sent during the night to make discoveries, returned with some prisoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuse having resolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furthest by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only useless, but extremely dangerous, because if found by the enemy employed in passing the river, that part of his troops which should remain on this side of it must be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no assistance from the troops on the other. Those who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we lost Mignonville †,

\* Coutras, a city of Guyenne, upon the borders also of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

† Mignonville, who was slain soon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV. stormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an ex-

cellent officer. Henry had a great number of subaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; such were Montgomery, Bellezuns, Montausier, Vaudoré, Des Ageaux, Favas, whom the historians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.



for whom the king had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expressed a wish that his artillery could have been placed, but durst not hope that we should have time to gain it. In effect, we already discovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuse, who without doubt was not sufficiently acquainted with the ground, or suffered himself to be too far transported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place so low, that afterwards finding it would be useless, he caused it to be removed, and by that means gave us leisure to place our own. It must be confessed, that this general, by some means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief causes of his losing the battle. This shews, that there is nothing more necessary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing sight, which shortens distances, and prevents confusion. I never knew a general that possessed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre \*.

The † battle was already begun, before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed, and we had soon occasion for it. The troops in monsieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of La Tremouille was forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole

\* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his soldiers, " My friends, behold here a prey much more considerable than any of your former booties; it is a bridegroom, who has still the nuptial portion in his pocket, and all the chief courtiers with him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

† It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thousand of the enemy were left dead upon

the place, and five hundred taken prisoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few soldiers slain, and not one prisoner of distinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of Du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III, book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii, p. 433. Father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras. I could wish to have transcribed the whole article here.

army

1587. army into disorder. The catholics cried out Victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so terrible \* was the fire, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemies, and reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a disorderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons. These three princes † performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that opposed them, and striding over the bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arms were all battered with blows. The face of things was changed in an instant, and the death of the catholic general ‡ gave the protestants a complete victory.

As soon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon, which were now useless, and mounting a horse which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the consolation to hear, that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre busy in dispersing || the fugitives,

\* "The first fire of the artillery, says Le Grain, carried off seven captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in the duke's army." Book iv.

† "All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to them, "is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and, please God, I will shew you, that I am your eldest brother."

His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some of his friends throw-

ing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, "Give me room, I beseech you; you stifle me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, saying, Yield thee, Philistine. Perefis, ibid.

‡ Slain in cold blood, by La Mothe St. Henry; others say, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux, and Descentiers.

|| Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that

and



and compleating his victory, which he did, not thinking himself secure while there remained any to oppose him. The bodies of Joyeuse and St. Sauveur \* his brother, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcases, and laid upon a table in the hall of the castle of Coutras, and a coarse sheet thrown over them †.

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the marechal de Matignon's army was in sight: he received those tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to his men, Let us go, my friends, said he: two battles in one day, is what has never before been seen. Prefix, *ibid.*

\* Claude de Joyeuse the youngest of seven sons of William duke of Joyeuse.

† The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot answer for. However, the reader may not be displeased to see it here; I met with it in the memoirs of Amelot de la Houffaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the history of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author speaks thus, "The king of Navarre gained the victory, to the great satisfaction of the king

of France, who secretly corresponded with the victorious army, through the faithful interposition of the marquis of Rosny, of the house of Bethune, now duke of Sully, who remained unknown at Paris." This author seems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's secret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is mistaken in this, that these negotiations produced no effect, since the duke of Joyeuse was still highly favoured by this prince, at least if we may believe Monsieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: And that Sully could not be at Paris, because he was at the battle; and that even the last journey he took there, some time before, had no other motive than the desire of seeing and assisting his wife.

# MEMOIRS

OF

## SULLY.

### BOOK III.

1587.

**T**HAT the protestant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am sincere enough to confess, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occasion, do all he might with a victorious army, and master of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a stroke so important, his party would have at least been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wisest are deceived\*. The ambitious designs, and self-interested views of several of the leaders in the victorious army, snatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The prince of Condé being seduced by the advice of Tremouille †, thought the time was now

\* Our best historians agree in these two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almost the

only person who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† Claude duke of Tremouille.



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come, when he could execute the bold scheme he had long before meditated, which was to dismember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compose of them an independent sovereignty. With this view, he hastily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himself he should be master of at the first alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppose him. So true it is, that ambition resembles that bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable hunger \*.

\* The duke of Sully does not agree here with D'Aubigné, Du Plessis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occasion; but I am afraid, there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, Monsieur de Thou is better able than any other person to decide this question: speaking of the consequences of the battle of Coutras, he says, that a council being assembled to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over this river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join to the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the king of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the nobility of Poitou and Saint-

tonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the rout to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viscount de Turenne; who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what De Thou says, to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the duke of Bouillon, nor his apologies, could contradict it: which is, that it was the viscount himself who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accused of: which is further confirmed by D'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promise the king of Navarre made him to join him soon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpose. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewise views of independence, of which no historian doubts.

Although the viscount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occasion in consequence of the resolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the less

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The viscount Turenne having the same designs upon the Limosin, and Perigord, where he already possessed great estates, pursued the same conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone composed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the siege of Sarlat, soothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meanest soldier. He fully justified the proverb, that great promisers perform the least: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretensions. The viscount had no one to accuse but himself for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The count of Soissons concealed his designs with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not sincere, and that it was interest alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princess Catherine, the king's sister, and he was continually expressing to this prince, the earnest desire he had of uniting himself more closely to him by marriage; but this design concealed another too shameful for him to suffer to appear. His pretensions by this marriage were, to substitute himself in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he saw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, should ever accomplish his designs; he depended upon en-

authorized to think disadvantageously of him. It is bad reasoning in Marfolier to grant on one side, that he was instigated by his ambition to wicked designs, and on the other side to complain, that those designs are supposed the motives of his conduct. This is to destroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greatest politician of his time. These rash judgments are condemned by religion, but are al-

lowed by the laws of history; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been said in the same place against the count of Soissons, it is, and will be still more supported hereafter by unanswerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. *Memoirs Du Pleffis*, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marfolier's History of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.



riching himself with his spoils, and upon gaining, at least, the great estates which make up the appanage of the house of Albret on this side the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to assist him with his advice, or his arm, to push his last victory further; on the contrary, he seized that moment to press him so earnestly to allow him to go to Bearn to visit the princess his sister, that the king, seeing himself in a more destitute condition than if he had lost the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the assistance the count had given him, to grant him this satisfaction. He himself was also dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a passion which had always been the weakness of this prince. Love called him back to the countess of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had caused to be set apart for that purpose.

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Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unseasonable journey did not produce all the disadvantages that might have been reasonably expected from it: it was so far of use to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the person on whom he was going to bestow his sister. The count of Soissons could not so well dissemble his sentiments, but that the king guessed at some part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soissons had taken this step purely at the instigation of the ecclesiastics, who had fallen upon this stratagem to deprive him of all his possessions: that the count had solemnly sworn to them, as soon as he had married the princess, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert measures with them to finish the rest. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was just ready to fall into the snare that

1587. laid for him ; and it gave him an aversion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himself to his advice.

I had not the mortification of being a witness to all these resolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I should in vain have opposed. Some days before these extravagant and senseless schemes had possessed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aside, in a garden, and asked my opinion concerning the condition into which this last action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it necessary he should march immediately with all his forces towards the source of the Loire, to receive the foreign supplies, or, what would answer the same end, to facilitate their passage, by taking possession of all the towns on this side of the river ; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, seemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at least secure to himself the finest and best provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a short time, nor by very considerable forces.

The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared resolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had just sent Montglat \* to the foreign army, and that since he could not go to put himself at the head of it, he ardently wished the prince of Conti † would accept of that charge ; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to assist him in person : and he added that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this step, and

\* Lewis de Harlai, lord of Montglat. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving

† Frances de Bourbon, prince of Conti, second son to Lewis I. no children by his two marriages.



recommended to me to use all my endeavours to secure the success of it. 1587.

I set out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and sending my equipage to Pons, passed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of those places through which he must pass. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti set out by himself two days before; and had not so well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was suspected, which was the cause that the roads were filled with the detachments which were sent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to pass by Rosny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, stopped by large rivers, harrassed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau\*: that the Swiss, to avoid the like misfortune, had enlisted, to the number of twelve thousand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and dispersed on all sides.

\* See a detail of this in De Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is observed, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to desire the commanders of it would march towards the source of the Loire, where he would put himself at their head; but they did not think proper to do so. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beau-

vois La-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davilla, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guise's reply to the duke of Maïenne, who was sensible of the danger of attacking an enemy so much superior in number. "Those, said he, that do not care to fight, may stay here. What I cannot resolve upon in half an hour I never resolve on my whole life."

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This mournful news stopped my journey, and rendered my commission useless. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Rosny ; where, while I secretly deplored the fatal consequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my security, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat of Auneau. I visited my estates in Normandy ; and while I was expecting those remedies, which time, and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac \*, where the news of the taking of Castillon consoled him a little, amidst so many causes for affliction. The siege of this place had cost the duke of Maienne a million of crowns, and the viscount Turenne retook it † for less than two.

A little time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs ; one was the death of the prince of Condé ‡, a death as sudden as tragical : the imprisonment of some of his chief attendants, and the punishment of one of his domestics §, who was

\* Upon the Dordogne.

† By means of a ladder of cords.

‡ Notwithstanding the secret jealousy that subsisted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loss, and shutting himself up in his cabinet with the count of Solifons, he was heard to send forth great cries, and to say, " That he had lost his right hand." Percefix, History of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was son to Lewis of Bourbon, first prince of Condé. He had no children by his first wife ; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was spread among the people, that

Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1st of September following.

§ The name of this domestic was Brilliant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princess herself was comprehended in this accusation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a process against her, which was suspended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After six years imprisonment, the princess presented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille of the crime of which she was accused. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March

rising



torn to pieces by four horses, left no room to doubt that he died by poison. The news of the populace rising \* at Paris †, and barricading the streets, and

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the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Morisot, I know not upon what authority, says, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occasioned by a wound he received in his side, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

\* Thursday May 12.

† I shall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may besides be found in a great many other books. It is sufficient to say, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous designs of the league, having ordered about six thousand troops, the most part Swiss, to enter Paris, and spreading them in different quarters of the city, the people rose, and being kept together by some of the chiefs of the league, fortified themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, disarmed the Swiss, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. seeing himself ready to be besieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expose himself to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the suburb Mantmante, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation, between the queen-mother, and the duke of Guise, and the absolute decision of it remitted to the state of Blois.

I observe, after D'Aubigné, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops seized and kept possession of the suburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of seizing these quarters. Those who guarded the gate of Nesle, fired at a distance upon the king's troop, and seeing the ferry-

boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they supposed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his side guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take possession of the square Maubert, and the quarter of the university, and by hindering his soldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a step more firm and seasonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guise waited six whole days at Soissons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were signified to him by Bellièvre, in two letters that he sent him at different times by the post. They were to blame, as Matthieu the historian also observes, vol. I. book viii. for not sending these letters by an express to the duke of Guise; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace, in the presence of the king and Bellièvre, to whom he protested, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but because they had not five and twenty crowns to spare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was advised by the duke of Epemon, to suffer his guards to assassinate the duke of Guise as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they say, would have engaged La Guesle and Villequier in the design, but they dissuaded him from it. It is reported also, that the same day, wherein the streets were barricaded, Alphonso d'Ornano assured him, he would bring him the head of the

1688. of the king's departure from that city, followed soon after, and was spread every where by the courier, who was sent with an account of it to the duke of Epemon. To this abject condition a king

duke of Guise, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make use of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the designs of the league, having himself narrowly missed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had just been convinced by what had happened at the imprisonment of La Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of insulting him. The king's council acted without comparison better in that affair of La Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. *Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr Ménip.*

The duke's design in this enterprize has given rise to great disputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been said pro and con. Those who will have it, that he intended to carry, or suffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to seize the king's person, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, support their assertions by some writings of great consequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the first vol. of the *Memoirs of the league*, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the dutchess of Lorraine, after the victory of Auneau, in which she advises him to make use of the present opportunity to declare himself king, &c. A letter written by the duke himself the next day after the fortifications in the streets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are these words, "I have vanquished the Swiss, cut

" in pieces part of the king's

" guards, and hold the Louvre so  
" closely invested, that I shall be  
" able to give a good account of  
" those that are within. This  
" victory is so great, that it will  
" never be forgot," &c. Many  
other letters, in which he mentions  
the king very disrespectfully, and  
the princes of the blood with the  
utmost contempt; to this they add,  
the discontent the duke discovered,  
and the reproaches he made the  
queen-mother, for having amused  
him with conferences, while his  
prey escaped him. In fine, the  
writings that were, say they, published  
by his commands; wherein  
was attempted to be proved, the  
pretended right the house of Lorraine  
had to the crown, not to mention  
an infinite number of other pieces,  
which were indeed but so many  
satirical libels against Francis duke  
of Guise, reproaching him with having  
attempted to assert his chimerical  
claims upon Anjou and Provence;  
and the cardinal his brother, with  
endeavouring to make himself  
sovereign of Metz, under the protection  
of the emperor, a project which the  
vigilance of Salcede prevented the  
execution of; but he lost his head  
for it: and for having treated about  
religion with the king of Spain, at  
the council of Trent, without his  
master's participation. The greatest  
part of these writings are still  
in every body's hands.

For the duke's justification they  
bring those arguments made use of  
by himself in a letter, or a sort  
of manifesto, which he drew up  
the same day, being the 13th of  
May. He there declares, that the  
report of the king's intention to  
fill the city with foreigners, and  
to fall upon the citizens with  
them, was the true cause of the



saw himself reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions, who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of those whom he commanded, nor those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and disorderly government that causes rebellions, for the popu-

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populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he had made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre, that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the king's person, "I might, said he, have stopped him a thousand times, if I had been inclined to do so." &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted the suggestions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guise made shew of doing too much, and did in reality too little: he

"ought to have remembered, that  
"whoever draws his sword against  
"his prince, ought to have that  
"instant thrown away the scab-  
"bard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh that presumptuous duke, and that  
"weak king." The earl of Stafford, ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of Le Grain, book iv.) "being  
"advised to take a safe-conduct  
"from the duke of Guise, I will  
"have no other security, said he,  
"than the law of nations, and the  
"protection of the king to whom  
"I am sent, whose servants and  
"subjects you and the duke of  
"Guise both are." The first president de Harlay answered the duke of Guise with the same firmness, That in the king's absence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Process of Nicholas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicholas Poulain, who secretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of secret history is to be found in the first vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

1588. lace never rise through a desire of attacking, but  
an impatience of suffering.

The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an insult so cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himself. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince; to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and troops.

The count of Soissons, whose mind was engrossed by perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to give himself more consequence with him, he sought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongst his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple upon this occasion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty sensible of all the baseness of this conduct, dissembled his sentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of use to him to have some person with the count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study the new system he pursued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived; he congratulated himself for having gained me, and treated me with a distinction that did not fail to raise me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received instructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted  
with



with him those measures which his service required me to take upon this occasion. 1588.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidst all the strokes of vanity, and insupportable pride which escaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterness against the king of Navarre, that sufficiently discovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither submit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous schemes; and all my answer was, that I foresaw the disunion of the royal family, which had been already the cause of so many misfortunes, would bring France at last under the power of the house of Austria, after it had made them destroy each other. A discourse more soothing would have been more to his taste; but mine, however, seemed to bear the marks of a sincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleasing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that restless and unquiet disposition of mind, which a violent resentment occasions, and filled with confusion for the affront he had so lately suffered. Notwithstanding all this, he was so incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs \*, that even at that very time he

\* It is believed that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and steadiness, he would have been still able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Parisians, in great consternation at his leaving Paris, sent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of submission to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made

the capuchins walk in procession, and enter the cathedral with the instruments of the passion, crying *Misericordia*. The king received them with that air of majesty and authority necessary upon this occasion. He shewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened

1588. made the duke of Epemon admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuse. The count of Soissons was received in a manner so different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party? I evaded this perplexing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his majesty, I did not think myself separated from the king of Navarre, because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the king; but being surrounded, and carefully observed by persons, on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. The weakness of this prince was indeed incomprehensible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had so lately taken off the masque; but still feigning ignorance, he again delivered himself up to the queen-mother \*, and through

with a resolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guise was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

\* In the circular letter that Henry III. sent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus; "Dear and well beloved, you have, as we suppose, heard the reasons that induced us to leave our city of Paris, the 13th of this month," &c. This prince speaks more like a suppliant than a king; he defends his design of introducing a foreign garrison in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Parisians. He gives a false

and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war against the hugenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guise; to which were also admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuscripts in the royal library, the lords de Lansac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, first physician to his majesty, who had been employed in carrying messages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. These conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a house

her



her to his persecutors, with whom she reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this last step was in this prince but a stroke of the most profound dissimulation; for the bold \* action he committed

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belonging to the bishop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made most extravagant demands there, such as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the dismissal of all the calvinist officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquisition, &c. and at last obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in consequence of those conferences. *Memoirs of the League, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.*

\* The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guise, whom this prince caused to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of December at Blois, where he held the states. See this murder in the same historians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the states of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept prisoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guise fled.

The duke of Guise perished as the admiral Coligny did; presumption hindered them both from seeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is said, that the marchioness of Noirmoutier, the same lady who made so much noise under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpose to pass the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some persons took upon them to justify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuse, in a long memorial upon this

subject, which he sent from Rome, where he then was. *Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175.* But the most judicious of our historians, and even those who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furthest, all detest it. "The shocking circumstances of the murder of the Guises, says Perefex, appeared horrible, even in the eyes of the huguenots, who said, that it too much resembled the massacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other side it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preserving the crown in his house, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the least probability in what Villeroy asserts in his *Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25.* that the king, without taking that course, might have made himself master of the deliberations of the states of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the consequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to such a sad necessity. He was himself a fatal example of this truth, that he who strikes with a knife, shall perish by a knife.

The duke of Guise was almost adored by the catholics, especially the people, who called him always, *Our great man.* He had a scar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only served to make him more respected, because he received it fighting against the huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a pistol shot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, so hated by his own family, whom he treated with an insupportable insolence, and severity, that we are assured his relations, and even his own brothers, through

against

1589. against the states of Blois, gives us room to believe, that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this assembly, in all appearance, every individual that composed it, had each a secret object in view, to which all their designs tended, and which success discovered in some, and disappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened soon after \* the assassination of the duke of

fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the persons that sent Henry III. the most certain intelligence of his actions and designs; an intelligence which was suspected by this prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent resolution against him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the design was to prevail upon them to quit the party and break with the states of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at first designed only to arrest the duke of Guise, but he found it would be dangerous, and still more to make him prisoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were consumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this assassination, was the person that gained most by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guise lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are assured also, that there were then great designs formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the protestant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guise, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the

duke of Guise, without blaming Henry III. "I always, said he, forefaw, and said, that Messieurs de Guise would never undertake the enterprize they had conceived, and bring it to an issue, without endangering their lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other persons were of the same opinion. "Curfed be Lorain, said Hubert De Vins, in the Memoirs of Castelnau, for his stupidity in supposing, that a king, whose crown he was attempting to take away by dissimulation, would not likewise dissemble with him, to take away his life." "Since they are so near each other, said madam de Fourbin, the sister of de Vins, we shall hear the very first day, either one or the other has slain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to some to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other astrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous science.

\* In the opinions of those who have bestowed so many praises upon this princess, it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to engross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority; but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities,

Guise



Guise did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himself with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guise: he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appease, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the displeasure of all the catholics to assuage, who, after this execution, were very well disposed to question his religion. 1589.

Henry, like all weak men, magnified these difficulties; he flattered himself he should reduce every thing to order by mildness; and therefore, publicly asserted his privilege, explained his reasons for what he had done, and loudly justified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and, instead of increasing the presumption of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be ascribed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the assailant, and sought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly

which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her last

advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices against this queen renders all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed, when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom she was very fond of. Siri praises her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. page 26.

with

1589. with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and and an infinite number of other \* places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Samur.

I was either a witness to all these events, or was soon informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place from whence I could easily observe whatever passed at court. I left it, as soon as I thought it was necessary to give the king of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the schemes of the viscount Turenne; who putting himself in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner by the king of Navarre as the duke of Guise did by Henry III. In an assembly of the protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembred; and he gave them to understand that, in the division which would be made of it, he would not forget himself. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and to engage the protestants more firmly to his person, he joined actions to words, seized upon Garnache, and took Niort † by storm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerously ill ‡ at La Mothe-Frêlon.

\* " 'Tis a puff of wind, said Henry III. speaking of those cities, which has thrown down a pack of cards."

† In Poitou.

‡ He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and assist Garnache, which was besieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Plessis-Mornay led his troops, and he himself marched on

foot, as if he was shooting. He over-heated himself, and was seized with a pain in his side, attended with a fever, which obliged him to stop at the first house he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called La-Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Plessis persuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

I took



I took my way through Blois, in order to form my last conjectures by the situation in which I should find the court. Although I made use of all possible precautions to avoid being discovered by any person; yet the marquis of Rambouillet \* seeing me pass through the street, knew me, tho' wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of strict honesty, and had always the good of the state in view, without any considerations of self-interest: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw some advantage from this encounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in such a disposition as he wished, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occasion, as he remembered I had already been sent to him on that business. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was necessary to be done; after which he presented me to his majesty, who confirmed to me himself his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it necessary to ask him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this request, out of an apprehension that this letter might fall into the hands of Nuncio Morosini †, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he said, notwithstanding the esteem he had for me,

\* Nicholas D'Angennes.

† John Francis Morosini, bishop of Bresce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had just then published a bull of excommunication against Henry, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church secretly approved of that justice

which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guise; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State vol. II. p. 175. the cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for assistance.

1589. he should be obliged to deliver me, if I was discovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the security of the king of Navarre, that when he should enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free passage over the Loire. This, for the same reason, was not granted. I did not attribute these refusals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of those two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himself dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this last article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I visited before I went away. After telling me, that he saw, with grief, this place, like the rest, would be infallibly lost by the measures the king pursued, he offered to resign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre should approve; adding, that he chose rather to resign his post, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

After this assurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince listened to me attentively, but not being able to suppress those doubts, which his frequent disappointments from the king of France had inspired him with, he often asked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irresolute action, if I now really thought the king of France sincere? I protested to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well then, replied the king, I will not take his towns, while he continues to treat faithfully with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud \* that very day. "Return then,

In Poitou.

" added



“ added he, and carry him my letters ; for I nei-  
 “ ther fear Morosini nor Nevers.” Accordingly 1589.  
 he made me go with him that moment to break-  
 fast in his closet ; and I took post again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre’s answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or bespoken, so that as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street : luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet’s lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire ; and would have had me to set out again that same night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there ; and was so passionately desired by the people, that as soon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thousand blessings.

The king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his sword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton \*, marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he forced the troops of the league to dislodge, before they had received the supplies necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had visited the castle, and put it into a condition of defence.

The fatigue I had suffered from so many successive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Plessis took advantage of this

1589. accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet \* had as great a share as himself. This treaty was signed at Pleſſis les-Tours, to the great ſatisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of ſecurity that was agreed upon, and Du-Pleſſis † did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the ſucceſs of the treaty.

This proceeding appeared to me ſo extremely unjuſtifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Pleſſis, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, who had beſtowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soiſſons, who never had any regard to the general intereſt, or took part in the public joy, made uſe of this circumſtance to endeavour to engage me in his new deſigns ; and my two brothers, on the other ſide, preſſed me earneſtly to attach myſelf wholly to the party of the king of France : but I rejected this propoſition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be ſhaken by all the efforts which were made to ſeduce me. When I reflected alſo, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a conſtant reſidence there, and by conſequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injuſtice, was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

Nothing now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpoſe, the king of Navarre ſet out from Pleſſis-les-Tours. Still aſſaulted by ſome remains of diſtruſt ‡, which

\* It is but juſt to inform the reader, that theſe facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Pleſſis Mornay, book i. p. 131 ; but to which of the writers moſt credit ought to be given is not eaſy to decide.

† Philip Mornay, lord of Pleſſis Marly.

‡ “ His old huguenot officers, they ſay, were afraid, that at a time when treachery was ſo neceſſary to Henry III. to extricate him out of the laby-



he could with difficulty suppress, he stopped near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that composed his train, upon the step he was going to take. I was amongst them, and the remembrance of the injustice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me silent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You say nothing," said he, "what are your thoughts of the matter?" I answered, in few words, "That it was true, the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the king of France were superior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of those circumstances, in which something ought to be left to chance; and that as for the rest, one ought to content one's self with using all the precautions which prudence could suggest. This prince pausing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go on\*, said he, my resolution is fixed."

The king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been so ardently desired, drew together so great a concourse of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the distance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal satisfaction on both sides†, and took the road together to Tours,

"rinth into which the action he had committed at Blois had introduced him (for he had been excommunicated by Sixtus V.) he would not scruple to purchase his absolution at the price of the king of Navarre's life." Perefrix, *ibid.* This prince had often himself said, as De Thou relates, "That he never went to the king's closet but through the midst of two armies, ranged on each side."

\* He wrote to Du-Plessis-Moray, in these terms: "Monsieur

"Du-Plessis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if I went I should be a dead man: I passed the water, recommending myself to God," &c.

† At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: "Courage, my lord, said Henry IV. to Henry III. two Henrys are worth more than one Charles." Matthew, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maienne's name was Charles.

1589. where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I staid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my residence in the suburb St. Symphorien.

The duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guise, and to support the interest of the league, had no design to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as Marmoutier \*, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horse, narrowly escaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The suburbs having no other intrenchments than some slight barricades, erected in haste, by six or seven regiments of royalists, who defended them, I quitted the suburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was sufficiently justified.

The duke of Maïenne attacked the suburb. He was stopped some moments by means of five or six houses, on the top of the hill, where our people had posted themselves; but they were soon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themselves behind the baricadoes, where expecting soon to be assaulted, they made use of this interval to snatch a hasty refreshment.

I met the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the suburbs. In effect, the barricades could not resist the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the first onset, and as they had no ditch to support them, their retreat into the city was so confused, and so much exposed to the enemy, that I am surpris'd all the

\* An abbey near Tours.



soldiers in the suburbs were not either taken or slain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been sufficient for that purpose. I saw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increase, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all prest tumultuously, and by means of some intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more secure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we closed up the gate, and set a strong guard over it.

It was no longer doubted, but that the city would be besieged in form. I joined Chatillon, and some others, and we went to intreat the king to confide some important post to our care; he gave us the Isles \*, and we laboured there without ceasing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to visit our work. He addressed himself to me, and praised our diligence greatly, but it was useless; for at the first news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched hastily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maienne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the suburbs, and the neighbouring places. A service of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre † as their deliverer.

The two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they separated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre sent me with three hundred horse, and

\* Read the isle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by water-men, and the meanest people, is of great consequence to the defence of Tours.

† Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who shewed great courage upon this occasion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

1589. a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that Maintenon † was secretly endeavouring to possess himself of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myself with ropeladders, petards, and other instruments, and came directly to Bonneval ‡, without taking any refreshment that whole day. Some prisoners whom we took from a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horse in the field, with Brosse Saveuse \* at their head; and that Reclainville † who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horse with which Lorges †† had just surprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horse wanted to come up with us; and we, on our side, having the same desire, left our arquebusiers to pursue the road to Chartres leisurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's squadron, we met them on the top of a small hill, which each party had climbed up on his own side; so that we neither saw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

We came to blows immediately §, and with so much fury, that by the first shock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Mess. De Chatillon || de Mouy, De Montbazon, D'Avantigny, and De Pressaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horse, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myself still on his back. Per-

† Lewis D'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

‡ A town upon the confines of Perche.

\* Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldest was called Saveuse, and the youngest De Brosse.

† Lewis de Alonville, lord of

Reclainville, or P'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maienne.

†† — de Montgomery of Lorges.

§ May 18.

|| Francis de Chatillon, the admiral's son, the leader of the troop. Isaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.



haps there never was an action, of this kind of combat, more furious, obstinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into disorder. I had two swords broke, and was obliged to have recourse to a pair of pistols loaded with steel balls, against which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had lost two hundred of their men, left us at last in possession of the field of battle.

1589.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory : extreme weariness, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionless. A little rest was all we wished for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our sweat, wet us all over in an instant ; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths : and to compleat our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maienne was at our heels. In this melancholy situation, a council being held, it was resolved, notwithstanding the condition we were in, that we should march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almost spent with fatigue and thirst. My strength being quite exhausted, all I could do was to sink down upon a bed, nor was it possible to awake me to take any nourishment.

The report of this battle being spread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to visit us, and expressed himself highly satisfied with our behaviour. Saveuse being among the prisoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the same principle of generosity carested the brave, and compassionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to console him, by praises on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuse knowing that a great number of his relations, and almost all his friends, perished in the fight, his grief for their loss, the shame he felt at being vanquished, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inspired such an extreme despair, that he became delirious,

1589.  licious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without suffering his wounds to be dress'd. The king of Navarre made us set out for Chateaudun, where eight days rest entirely obliterated all remembrance of our past fatigues.

I was upon the point of leaving this place, when a courier brought me news that my wife was dangerously ill. I flew to Rosny, with Dortoman\*, first physician to the king of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the interests of the league; and one of my brothers†, who had taken possession of my house, the same wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuse me entrance. Pierced to my inmost soul, with a treatment so inhuman, I swore I would enter, or perish in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect so much resolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only consolation I had was to find my wife still alive, and to receive her last embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and she died four days after my arrival. The loss of a wife so dear to me, and whose life had been exposed to such cruel vicissitudes of fortune, shut my heart during a whole month to every other passion but grief. I heard with insensibility the progress of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent desire of sharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Estampes, Chartres‡, Poissy, Pontoise, the isle Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconsiderable town boasted of having stopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and disobedience over all his do-

\* Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

† This is certainly the eldest, who was called the baron of Rosny.

‡ Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the isle of France, La Beauce, and L'Orleans. See an account of this in the historians.



minions. He was now sensible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's assistance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was most danger, there was he to be seen at the head of his soldiers. In one of those many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to rest himself, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a musket-shot, laid dead at his feet.

I awaked as from a deep sleep at the news\* of the two kings holding Paris besieged; and leaving a place where every object I saw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I soothed that grief which still filled my heart, by exposing myself carelessly in all the skirmishes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my design, and observing that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durst not do it, he desired him only to tell me, that he wanted to speak to me.

Scarce had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whispered something in his ear, and left him immediately. The king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again instantly, and told me an assassin had dangerously wounded the king of France with a knife†: then mounting his horse, and attended

\* If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. these two kings were greatly dissatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealousy of Henry IV. who far from expecting to reign, resolved to retire as soon as he had re-established the king upon his throne.

† By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by La Guesle, the solicitor general,

into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great consequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindness for monks, rose from the close-stool upon which he was sitting, having already read part of the letter, when the assassin struck him in the belly with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. The king drew it out and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentle-

1589. only by five and twenty gentlemen who were about him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached

men of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Seine. The historians have not forgot to observe, as a circumstance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the same house and (if we believe them) in the same chamber, place, and month, where seventeen years before that prince had assisted at the council, in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew was resolved upon. Monsieur Bayle seems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be false, the house at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the second and third of August, aged 38 years. James Clement being at St. Cloud, some persons, who suspected him, went at night into his chamber to observe him. They found him in a profound sleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He fasted, confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out to assassinate the king. He was praised for this action at Rome, in the chair where Henry the Third's funeral oration ought to have been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the eucharist. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniversary day of the barricadoes, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he saw a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with these words underneath, St. James Clement. Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," says Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedside,

sighs and tears not permitting him to speak a word. He took his majesty's hands between his, and kissed them. The king, perceiving that he was silent through the strong emotions with which he was agitated, embraced his head, kissed him, and gave him his benediction. Had not the knife been poisoned, the wound would not have been mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the intestines. fol. 217. Bourgoin, prior of the Jacobins, was tore to pieces by four horses. They could extort nothing but these words from him, *We have done what we could, but not what we would have done*; which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was designed to have been assassinated at the same time. The sieur de Rougemont was arrested, for having desired to strike the blow himself." fol. 228. He died like a good christian. He forgave his enemies, and even Clement himself," says Matthieu the historian. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was called, at his baptism, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons having gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with these ashes, the boat was swallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.



his bed, amidst all the agitation and grief that the sincerest friendship could inspire. The king comforted him with assurances, that his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehensions, who seeing likewise no appearance of any dangerous symptom, left him to his repose, and returned to his quarters at Meudon. 1589.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to sup, and had just placed myself at table, when I saw Ferret his secretary enter, who said to me, "Sir, the king of Navarre, and perhaps the king of France, desires you will come to him instantly." Surprised at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and as we walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an express, that if he would see the king of France alive, he had not a moment to lose.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horses were saddling, he did me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. So many different thoughts presented themselves to my mind that moment, that I continued some time silent, nor was the king in less agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the success of a battle, or the possession of a small kingdom, such as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greatest monarchy in Europe. But how many obstacles had he to surmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in comparison to what remained to do. How crush a party so powerful, and in such high credit, that  
it

1589. it had given fears to a prince established on the throne, and almost obliged him to descend from it! This difficulty already so great, appeared insurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the best and greatest part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his present condition he had occasion for every one's assistance, yet he had no one in whom he could confide. I was struck with fear, when he suggested to me, that it was probable such surprising, and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose him with only a few of his most faithful servants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was absolutely destitute of every resource.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, every one confessed that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to seize this opportunity, and use it with all those precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much less to subject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we should endeavour to subdue one obstacle at a time; nor suffer ourselves to be depressed by their greatness, and their number. We ought never to despair of what has been once accomplished. How many things have the idea of impossible been annexed to, that have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinite number of other circumstances?

The answer I made the king was founded on these maxims; and we agreed that, instead of going back to the distant provinces, he should remain in the midst of the royal army to support his claim, and set out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might



might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our swords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," asked him several questions, which he satisfied by such a circumstantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when he saw the Scots guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our king and our master." And some moments after, Mess. de Biron \*, De Bellegarde, D'O, De Chateauvieux, De Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of those critical moments, upon the good or bad use of which his destiny depended. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that instant called, or oppressed by difficulties, and useless grief, he calmly began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he used to those of whose affection he was assured, he bid me go to the marechal de Aumont's † quarters, and there, with all the precaution necessary to his interest, spread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to speak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their offices to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to observe my own quarters carefully,

\* Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde, grand ecuyer of France. Francis D'O, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the Finances. Joachim de Chateauvieux.

† John duke D'Aumont, marechal of France.

1589. and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himself to gain all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might depend, and wrote or sent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I represented to him, that it was absolutely necessary to get possession of Meulan \* immediately; a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partisan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how easily this might be executed, and the king approving my scheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I said of the greatest consequence to him. He came to me, and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the marechal D'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the consternation this occasioned, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

The king offered me this government, but from many considerations I chose not to accept of it. Part of his apprehensions were soon justified by the event; he found it impossible to keep either the duke of Epemon †, or many other disaffected

\* In the isle of France:

† The author of his life assigns very bad reasons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that besides the protestant party, there were three others among the catholics themselves, the first of which was composed of those persons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic reli-

gion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his person, nor a sincere attachment to his interest. The number of these was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, D'O, (who had spoken to him in the name of the rest) and many others. The third party was made up of those who declared publicly, says D'Aubigné, that they would serve the king without any conditions: and these were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals



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catholics, in his service, especially those who owed their fortune to the deceased king. Their dissent reduced him almost to those troops only, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the siege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promises, or offered him such supplies as could be of no use, in his present exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire into the heart of the kingdom. He had already (tho' without discovering his real motive for it) caused a report to be spread among his soldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally necessary for the safety of his person, and the success of his affairs. A thousand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predecessor, tho' a catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a violent death. It was here that the last resolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel designs were formed in the midst of his army, and the assassins perhaps near his person.

In this perplexing situation, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it against the league, which becoming insolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conquest of it. I having no regiment, nor sufficient time to raise one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville\*.

D'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude proposition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this satisfaction. He told them resolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been constrained to take such a step. And demanded six months time to think upon it. See the historians upon

this subject, and particularly D'Aubigné vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received such important services upon this occasion from the marshal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marshal is said to have reproached Henry with his services in those very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

\* Read, Joachim de Berengreville.

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The king, in his retreat, took Clermont \*, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enterprises, which was the reason likewise that I missed of taking of Louviers †, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, which was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I sat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the supplies that had been promised me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that supplied the city with water, became dry. This I observed, and it was through this place that I proposed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that Messieurs d'Aumale §, de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would surrender, or suffer themselves to be taken, without striking a blow, I thought it would be rashness to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to justify the truth of what I had asserted, I contented myself with sending several persons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that closed it. By this means they several times penetrated into the city, and came out again

\* In Beavais.

† A city of Normandy.

§ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; — Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fon-

taine-Martel, governor of Neuchâtel; Charles-Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant.



without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have succeeded, if we had had a sufficient number of soldiers. 1589.

I returned by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the king of Navarre, at Ecoüy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans so well inclined towards him, that he was determined by their offers, to attempt the important siege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay\*, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal; where the king received advice that the duke of Maienne was very desirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horse to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and spread all over my estate. I went, and posted myself in the forest; from whence I made observations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppose to so formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which might be necessary. He had already caused the commander of Chastes† to be sounded, to know if in any case of necessity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reason to be pleased with his answer; but, in order to be better assured of this governor's intentions, he went himself to confer with him, and returned extremely well satisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat so secure as Dieppe‡, he the less feared to keep the field before the enemy; and re-

\* In Upper Normandy.

† Aimat de Chastes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

‡ Henry IV. it is said, was reduced to such an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into

England; which the marechal de Biron prevented, by advising him to make good his post at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he said, that he was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

1589. solving to make head against them till the last extremity, he came and posted himself before Arques\*.

At the end of the causeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a space of arable land, in the midst of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each side. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marsh or boggy ground. A village called Martinglise† bounds the hill, about half a league from the causeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maienne was encamped. The king was sensible, that by attempting to resist an army of above thirty thousand men, with less than three thousand, his conduct would be accused of rashness; but besides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the present weak condition his party was in, demanded some bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compensate, in some degree, for the smallness of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the causeway, and above as well as beneath the great road: he posted twelve hundred Swiss on each side of this road, and six hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed a thousand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which stood in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. These were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but six hundred men, he divided into two equal squadrons; and with one, posted himself between the wood and the road, and separating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the morass, to fill in some sort that space. He did not sleep that whole night; during which,

\* In the country of Caux.

† Or Martin Egglise.



fearing that the enemies would make themselves masters of the causeway, he kept guard there himself. In the morning they brought him some refreshments into the Trench, where he invited his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments rest, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the viscount de Chartres, Palcheux, Brasseuse, Avantigny, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make some prisoners; they soon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin \*. The king went to meet him, and embraced him smiling. The count, whose eyes were in search of the king's army, seeing hardly any soldiers about him, answered him no otherways than by expressing his surprize at the small number that seemed to be with him. "You see not all," said the king to him with the same gait: "for you reckon not God, and my claim, who fight for me." Accustomed as I was to see this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquillity that sat upon his countenance, on an occasion so much the more desperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was so serene, and his ardor tempered with so much prudence, that he appeared to the soldiers as something more than human, and inspired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

The duke of Maëenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a squadron of his German foot, who seemed to refuse fighting, because they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to surrender. Our Germans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post

\* Francis de Faudoas, d'Aver- deputy governor of Paris for the  
son de Serillac, count of Belin, duke of Maëenne.

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they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; for that part of the morass where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a squadron of eight or nine hundred horse. At the approach of so large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horse, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other squadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the count D'Auvergne\*, who brought a hundred and fifty horse more to our assistance, we a second time beat back the enemies squadrons. This game could not last long: three hundred horse from the enemies army joining the first, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in disorder; where fortunately our foot soldiers, who were posted there, stopped this cavalry short, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne† and some other officers were slain.

The duke of Maïenne commanding all the rest of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this post; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the

\* Charles de Valois, natural son of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. has given a description of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See also father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the Physician Du Chesne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wednesday September the 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made several attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *escarmouches du Poller*. "My compa-

nion, said Henry IV. to Arre-guer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, I come to die, or "to gain honour with you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My father, said this prince, to colonel Galati, keep a pike for me, for I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in these terms, "Hang thyself, brave Grillon, for we have fought at Arques without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will or not."

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Josias de la Rochefoucaut, counts of Montbazou and de Rouffy, lost their lives also there.

road



road itself. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we should have had reason to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swifs, who sustained the shock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. My horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swifs, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horse to march along the side of the morafs: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overwhelmed the Swifs, and the rest of the soldiers, when luckily the horses approaching too near the morafs, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty disengaged them, by leaving their lances sticking there.

The battle continued some time longer in this state; that is to say, while we had any strength left; but at length we began to sink under the fatigue. On our side the same men were always in action, while our enemies were sustained with fresh supplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the king, and to ask him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, said he to me, "I have no supplies to send you; however, we "must not suffer ourselves to be depressed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned towards monsieur le Grand\*, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a seeming joy informed them of the supply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inspired with fresh vigour, it may be truly said, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour

\* Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

1589. scarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise our danger ; but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to them, and discovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causeway, where our last intrenchment was, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

Our safety we owed to a circumstance that we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The cannon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog ; but as soon as the enemies could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and was followed by so terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confusion. Four other vollies succeeded with such rapidity, as went quite through their army ; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of the valley : behind which, some moments after, all this terrible multitude were lost ; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and disheartened by a resistance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The king, after an action which covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harrassed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent skirmishes ; the detail of which I suppress, as having nothing very interesting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater : for, believing the enemies at a distance, he was exercising a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from two hundred fusileers, who lay in ambush upon the ground between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.



It is certain, that any other than Henry would have sunk under these difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the supplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour\*, and his skill in disputing the ground, he gave time for four thousand English and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth sent him, to pass the sea; and this reinforcement was soon after followed by one more considerable, which was brought him by the count of Soissons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, D'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soissons that he was so often in danger at Dieppe, who amused himself with disputing about the command of the forces, instead of hastening to the king's assistance.

The duke of Maienne durst not wait for the junction of all these troops; he disappeared with his army, and left the king master of the field. Henry, then changing his resolution of keeping in Normandy, set out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He passed through Meulan and Poissy †, and from thence dispatched me with the duke of Montpensier ‡, to endeavour to perfect a correspondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to seize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cause in it. We found no probability of succeeding in either of these designs; therefore, the duke of

\* "Sixtus V. presaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermost, since he was not longer in bed than the duke of Maienne was at table. The duke of Maienne was extremely slow in all his motions. If he does not act in another manner, said the king, I shall certainly beat him always in the field." Prefix, *ibid.* 2. The same pope, after the battle of Arques, applied these words to Henry IV. *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem*: mean-

ing by the asp the duke of Maienne, the duke of Savoy by the basilisk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himself by the dragon.

† These towns are upon the Siene.

‡ Henry of Bourbon-Montpensier, prince of the blood, the only son of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time seven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cause, to bestow it on the duke of Mercœur. He soon had reason to repent of it,

Mont-

1589.

Montpensier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

His design was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he saw opportunity, to attempt to make himself master of it. He had taken the precaution to send persons to break the bridge of St. Maixance \*, by which the duke of Maienne might have been able to assist this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had also come near Paris by the opposite side, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the necessary orders for attacking all the suburbs at the same time: that of St. Germain fell to Monsieur D'Aumont, de Chatillon, and me. As soon as the signal was given, we fell upon this suburb; and having, tho' an immense, yet a confused and terrified multitude to oppose, we hemmed two large bodies of soldiers within the enclosure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a less space than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myself to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to resist us, we passed, and advanced as far as the gate of Nesle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back; an order from the king to give over the attack was the cause of their abandoning us. The person whom he had sent to demolish the bridge † of St. Maixance had performed this commission so ill, that the duke of Maienne appeared within sight of

\* Upon the river Oise.

† De Thou observes, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indisposed at Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvi. It was attacked on All-saints day, upon advice sent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine

gentleman, to Henry IV. in these three words, Come, come, come, written in a bit of paper, which the bearer inclosed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayer, vol. I. p. 270.



Paris with his whole army, at the same moment that we entered it. 1589.

The king was now convinced that his enterprize was no longer practicable, and that although we should make ourselves master of the city, which on our side would infallibly have happened, an army thus dispersed in a city of such vast extent as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered; having such an infinite number of people to oppose within, and an army without to fight against, which would either enter with us, or keep us besieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering so happily courage with prudence, never suffered his ardour in battle to hinder him from following the calmer dictates of wisdom. He was satisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city that dared to despise him, and giving it to know what it had to expect from him. Part of the suburbs was pillaged: our soldiers left nothing in that of Germain\*, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my share three thousand crowns, and all my men made very considerable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Estampes†; and resuming his first design of shewing himself in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and in a short time took a great many little towns in Touraine‡, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Nor-

\* “The Sieurs de Châtillon, and La Nouë,” says Le Grain, book v. “assaulted the suburbs of

“St. Germain, Buffry and Nesle,

“which were richer and more

“magnificent than the others, and

“where they expected to find

“most resistance, as well upon

“account of the fine houses that

“were in the suburb St. Germain,

“which makes its value equal to

“the second city in France, as the

“abbey St. Germain, which was

“fortified. Châtillon made it ap-

“pear that he remembered St.

“Bartholomew’s day, and was

“resolved to expiate the murder,

“and appease the manes of the

“admiral his father.”

† In Beauce.

‡ Alençon, Le Mans, Chateau

Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier,

Maëenne, Laval, Argentan, Fa-

laise, Lisieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de

Mer, Pont l’Evêque, Honfleur,

Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c.

De Thou, book xcvi. D’Aubigné,

Vol. III. book iii. chap. 4, &c.

See also the Memoirs of the league,

and particular accounts of these ex-

peditions printed at that time.

1590.  mandy. He left some troops with the marechal Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the catholics from Antfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Rosny to preserve, with a small body of troops, with which I narrowly missed seizing the duke D'Aumale, as he passed by Rosny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the siege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumstantial account than this of actions of little importance, and must even suppress the greatest part of them, as it is neither possible, nor necessary, to relate at length facts in themselves so inconsiderable.

I forewarn the public therefore to expect in these memoirs a detail only of important events; such as I have been a witness to, or what regards the king himself; and if I should add any others, they will be those, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of those memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the rest, it will be sufficient just to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at first committed such particulars as most struck me, to paper; especially those conversations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war, or politics, which I apprehend might be of great use to me. This prince, who perceived it by my sometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on these subjects, commanded me to put my work in some order, and to enlarge it. I found some difficulty in obeying him, for my style was none of the best; and I would gladly have been excused, but upon repeated commands from his majesty, and his promising to correct it with his own hand, I resumed and continued this work with more assiduity. Such was the rise of these memoirs. But to return to my subject.



The army of the league sitting down before Pontoise \*, took it, and afterwards laid siege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to supply it with powder †, and to introduce some person into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the besieged to hold out till assistance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed by making a man swim over to it; and in the mean time sent to inform the king of what had passed, and to demand supplies. My repeated instances determined this prince to come thither himself; but it was with great unwillingness that he left other places where his presence was no less necessary. “Your importunity brings me to the assistance of Meulan.” Thus he wrote to me. “If any thing unfortunate should happen, I shall never cease to reproach you.” It would indeed have appeared very surprizing to me, if no misfortune had happened; for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him so small a number, that it was impossible for him to sustain the attack of a whole army which then prest Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him as soon as it was known how ill he was attended.

This I took the liberty to represent to him; and, in effect, he had no sooner left Verneuil || to proceed to Ivry ‡, than going out to reconnoitre, I saw the whole army of the league, which was no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil. It was not usual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the first transports of his rage,

\* In the isle of France.

Vol. II. p. 22.

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with distinction, in the relation of this siege, by de Thou, book xcviij, and father Matthieu,

|| In Perche.

‡ Upon the river of Eure, Bishopric of Evreux.

1590. he reproached me as the cause of his suffering this affront, and with being less solicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preserve my lands from pillage. It was not difficult for me to justify myself; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of such a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

This produced the effect which I had promised myself. The enemies seeing the army on its march, drew their cannon on this side the river, and without wholly raising the siege, abandoned the care of it, to guard against surprizes.

I sent the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it necessary to hasten his march, to prevent any accident which might occasion the loss of Meulan, and sent me the scouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the besiegers some trouble. He came soon after, and entered the fort, where being desirous of observing the enemy's army \*, he climbed up, with some of us, into the belfrey. The besiegers that moment directing a battery against this belfrey, demolished the staircase, and obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a stick passed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the same coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raised in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw that the enemies would quickly dismount them, which really happened before we could derive the least advantage from them, and the besiegers fired there so furiously all day, that we were not able to remove these four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king, made a terrible attack on the bridge on that side; but this was their last effort. The king posting himself at Or-

\* "As Henry IV. was ascending the belfrey of St. [Nicaise, a cannon-ball passed thro' his legs." Matthieu, *ibid.* 24.



greux, they were afraid of being overcome, and suddenly decamped. 1590.

The marquis of Alegre \* had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The king, whose whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to besiege Dreux †, after putting me in garrison in Passy. The duke of Maienne, who had just been reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all round Mante and Rosny, with a resolution to raise this siege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Rosny, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although monsieur de Rosny wrote to me, representing to me, that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions ‡ yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I thanked him for his false complaisance, and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which might in some degree serve the garrison for a shelter. Luckily the enemy had no design to waste time in so inconsiderable a siege, and wanted only

\* Christopher D'Allegre, governor of Gisors.

† In the bishopric of Evreux.

‡ Father Matthieu mentions this fact, exactly in the same manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of. "Here is the king ready to give battle; tell the duke of Maienne, that he is now reckoning upon winning it; and then I will consider whether I am to lose it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called Rosny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Rosne, one of the general-officers of the League: However, to those who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would seem impossible for the error to be on his side. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. Vol. I. p. 71. and Matthieu's history, Vol. II. book i. p. 25.

1590. to seize the place. As they passed next morning, the noise of the baggage gave me to understand, that the army had pursued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I spent entirely in fortifying Passy, I thought I saw distinctly two armies fighting in the air \*. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illusion, but it made such an impression on my mind, that I was not surprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me that the duke of Maienne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a design to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been passed in skirmishing, making lodgments, and securing advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with these words, " I conjure you  
 " then to come, and bring with you as many of  
 " the forces as you can, particularly your own  
 " company, and the two companies of Badit and  
 " James's horse-arquebusiers; for I know them,  
 " and am resolved to make use of them upon this  
 " occasion."

I was sensible that, without extraordinary dispatch, I should arrive too late for the battle with these companies, which I foresaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior in numbers to the enemy. I therefore lost not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and half before the battle began. The king ordered

\* Davila, who also takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. describes it in this manner: " The  
 " thunder and lightning, some-  
 " times mingled with horrid darkness, added to their terrors; and  
 " such a flood of rain poured suddenly down, that the whole army was alarmed. A prodigious  
 " apparition, which appeared in  
 " the sky as soon as it had ceased

" to rain, encreased the general  
 " dismay; for during the noise of  
 " the thunder, at which the boldest amongst them trembled, two  
 " great armies were distinctly seen  
 " in the air, that after continuing  
 " some time engaged in fight, disappeared, covered with a thick  
 " cloud; so that the event of the  
 " battle was not seen."



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me to make my company pass to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebusiers dismount, sent their horses amongst the baggage, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the disposition of the two armies, "in order, added he, "that you may learn your trade." He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron*, than the trumpets sounded the charge.

I shall not here encroach upon the historian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say that, upon this occasion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marshal D'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse; as also the great difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

It is certain the duke of Maienne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he

* "My companions," said he, addressing himself to his squadron, "if to-day you run my fortune, I also run yours. I am resolved to die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beseech you, and if I should quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately; which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between those three trees which you see up there on the right: and, if you should lose sight of your standards and colours, keep my white plume of feathers always in view; there you will find the road to victory and glory." Preface, *ibid.* 2d part. "They lost sight of him in the battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen persons, he was surrounded by the enemy. He killed the count of Egmont's equerry with his own hand. We must use our pistols, said he to his troop; the more men the more glory." Matthieu, Vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

1590.



yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to; and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

The king's squadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a thousand, or twelve hundred German horse. It is true, the Germans, who profess the same religion as our soldiers did, fired their pieces in the air: but the count of Egmont behaved like a man who

* See upon this action De Thou, book xcvi. D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maienne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by Du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maienne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league

about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe Le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and the league's consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of L'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of L'Amoral his father: "Do not mention him," he replied; "he was a rebel, and deserved to die."

was resolved to conquer. He charged us with such fury, that notwithstanding the desertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which lasted a full quarter of an hour, the earth was covered with dead bodies. Our squadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the first onset, my horse was wounded in the nostrils, and in the neck at a second, where the saddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of flesh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A pistol shot gave me a third more considerable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I should certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my assistance with another horse, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This instance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have cost him his life.

At a second charge, this horse was likewise slain, and in the same moment I received a pistol-shot in the thigh, and a cut with a sword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my senses lost all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my senses, I saw neither enemies, nor any of my domestics near me, whom terror, and the disorder, had dispersed; another presage which appeared to me no less unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almost without armour, for in the battle mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I saw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found myself near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was still able to exert, made such good use of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adver-

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fary's attempts, and kept him at a distance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at last quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Just then La Rocheforêt (who has since been with me) passing by, I asked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the spot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on such occasions it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I saw seven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white standard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impossible to escape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui vive ?*" I told my name, as being ready to surrender myself a prisoner. But how was I astonished, when instead of attacking me, I found four of these persons intreating me to receive them for prisoners, and to save their lives; and while they ranged themselves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their request: and it seemed so surprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, should surrender themselves to a single man, disarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and scarce able to support himself, that I was tempted to take all I saw for an illusion. But I was soon convinced of the truth of it. My prisoners (since they would be so) made themselves known for *monsieurs de Châtaigneraie* *, *de Sigogne*, *de Chanteloup*, and *d'Aufreville*. They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had lost the

* John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaigneraie. Charles de Beaufoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The historians take notice of the prisoners *monseigneur de Rosny* took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of se-

ven. It was for some time believed, that Henry IV. was slain. What gave rise to this false report was the *marquis of Nesle*, who was that day dressed like the king, being seen surrounded by the enemy, and wounded in several places, of which he died. *Matthieu, ib.*

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battle; that the king was that instant in pursuit of the vanquished, which had obliged them to surrender for fear of falling into worse hands, their horses not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the same time Sigogne, in token of surrender, presented me with the white standard. The three others, who were the duke of Nemours*, the chevalier D'Aumale, and Tremont, not seeming inclined to surrender, I endeavoured to persuade them to do so, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, seeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and shewed me that their horses were still vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I advanced with my prisoners towards a battalion of Swiss, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the standard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then saw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army† of the king pursuing, and scattering the rest of the larger bodies, had dispersed, and were again drawing together. The Swiss soldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes lowered, without striking a blow or making any other motion.

The white standard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be

* Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

† "The king cried, Spare the French, and fall upon the foreigners." Prefix, *ibid.* part 2d. "Henry," says the author of the *Henriade*, "owed this victory to the superiority of his skill and valour. But he confessed that Maienne had performed all the duties of a great general; he had no fault," said he, "but in the cause he supported." The duke of Maienne would have been taken, but for

his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he exposed the German horse and foot to be slaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the spot; a like number of French infantry, and a thousand horse. Some have made the loss much greater. Of the royalists, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

1590. that of the Guises, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the assassination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my prisoners, which were covered with silver crosses, glittered from afar in the field. The first who flew to seize them, were Messieurs De Cambrai, De L'Archant, Du Rollet, De Crevecœur, De Palcheux, and De Brasseuse, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and supposing they would not know my face, disfigured by blood and dust, I named myself. The count de Torigny no sooner knew La Châtaigneraie : who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he saw me, I should not be able to preserve my prisoners from insult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be answerable. I readily granted his request, yet it was with regret that I saw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendship had a fatal consequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie : some moments after he was known by three men belonging to D'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. these men levelling their pieces at him, shot him dead, crying, " 'Sdeath ! thou traitor to thy king, whom thou hast murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I might have made the count of Torigny pay this prisoner's ransom, and I was advised by several persons to do so ; but I could not resolve to add this new cause of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myself been well acquainted.

I soon saw myself surrounded by many persons, amongst whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot * came after the rest, and passing through the croud, perceived Si-

* Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's sons.

gogne, and the page who carried the standard. 1590.  He was preparing to seize it, believing his good fortune had preserved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that standard for him, he suddenly disappeared. The news was found to be false, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred soldiers from Picardy, which messieurs de Mouy *, and de la Boissiere had brought to the duke of Maienne.

Being now disengaged from the croud, and finding myself in need of help, especially for the wound in my hip, by which I lost a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignole's † regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here, fearing no further surprize, I asked for a surgeon to bind up my wound, and desired some wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My strength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I caused the first dressing to be put on my wounds in the presence of the marechal Biron, who spent a few moments there after my arrival, and took some refreshment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reserve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without stopping after his victory, had passed the river of Eure, in pursuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took the road at last to Rosny, where he lay the same night ‡.

* Charles D'Humi s. The vol. of manuscripts in the king's library, marked 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Christopher de Lanoy de Boissiere, governor of Corbie.

† Bertrand de Vignoles.

‡ " That night he supped at

" the castle of Rosny. Being informed that the marechal D'Aumont was come to give him an account of what he had done, he rose up to meet him, and embracing him affectionately, made him sit down at his table, with these obliging words, that it was but just, that he who had

1590.

After the marechal Biron was gone, D'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of resentment against me for taking away his prize; for so he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or six armed men, and with an air equally fierce and insulting, demanded an explanation, or rather sought to do himself justice; for perceiving the white standard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken possession of it by force, without attending to what I said. I changed my tone immediately, and high words passed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he speaking with fury, and making use of threats, the noise drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the sight of whom D'Andelot restraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refused, and endeavoured, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injustice of his pretensions.

The next morning I caused myself to be carried by water to Passy, with an intention to go to

"served him so well at his nuptials, should share the feast." Perefiz, *ibid.* 2d part.

Monsieur de Perefiz, in the same place, relates another circumstance, which does honour to the king.

"He remembered that, the evening before the battle, he had used some harsh expressions to colonel Theodoric Schomberg, who had asked him for money, and told him in a passion, that it was not acting like a man of honour to demand money, when he came to take orders for fighting. He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in order, and said, Colonel, we are now upon the point; perhaps I shall never go from this place; it is not just that I should deprive a brave gentleman as you are of your honour; I come therefore to declare, that I know you to

"be an honest man, and incapable of committing a base action."

"Saying this, he embraced him with great affection. The colonel, sensibly moved with this behaviour, replied, with tears in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in restoring to me my honour, you take away my life; for after this I should be unworthy of your favour, if I did not sacrifice it to-day for your service. If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all at your feet. In fact, he was killed upon this occasion." *Ibid.*

The marechal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reserve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, said to Henry IV. "Sire, you have performed what Biron should, and Biron has done that which the king ought to have done."

Rosny,

Rosny, to finish my cure. On my arrival, I 1590.
learned that part of the soldiers in my train, and
my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was spread, that the king had lost the battle. Being apprehensive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themselves concealed. I caused them to be sought for, but they were so much ashamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I since been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horses, which I ordered to be sold, and distributed the money amongst their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horse, I ordered a kind of litter, composed of the branches of trees, with the bark still on, and the hoops of some vessels, to be made for me in haste, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the ascents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Chatillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my stable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my finest horses; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horse, the same who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a saddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebusiers. This page carried my cuirass, and the duke of Maïenne's standard, the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, so bruised, that it was no longer of any use. My equerry, the contriver of this diverting scene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm in a scarf; he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dressed in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of silver, and mounted

1590. mounted upon my English nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the shivers of my pistols, the broken pieces of my swords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my prisoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their pistols and swords at the four corners. The prisoners themselves followed my litter, and preceded the rest of my domestics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of soldiers, and the march was closed with James and Badet's two companies of arquebusiers. They had suffered so much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a scarf, and some of these brave soldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horses and dogs; and the king himself, who, after a slight repast, had returned from Rosny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This shew seemed to please him; he thought it very happily disposed, and smiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever since his father, who was a very brave man, had made himself remarkable at the taking of Eause. The king approached my litter, and in the sight of his whole train, disdained not to give me such proofs of tenderness and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expression, one friend would do to another. I could not express my gratitude by throwing myself at his feet, but I assured him, and with truth, that I would gladly suffer a thousand times more for his service. He enquired, with an obliging solicitude, whether all my wounds were of such a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almost impossible, knowing that I had
been

been thrown down senseless, and trampled under the horses feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he cast himself on my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he said aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honest knight, a title which he said, he thought superior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehensive that I should hurt myself by speaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable conversation with his usual protestation, that I should share in whatever good fortune heaven should send him; and, leaving me, said, "Farewel, my friend; take care of yourself, and, depend upon it, you have a good master." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is seldom increased, or even kept, in success.

1590.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK IV.

1590.

THE same day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party also prevailed in Auvergne*, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it should seem, when she gave this prince success sufficient to put him in possession of several crowns, took pleasure, at the same time, in producing circumstances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the sole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and consternation seized the whole party of the league, so that it seemed hardly possible for the king, who was now resolved to let slip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones from the present posture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have seen them ravished from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiss, who refused to advance a step farther, till they were paid those sums the king owed them.

This prince had then neither money nor means in readiness to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand some of the superintendant of the finan-

* At Issiire. See an account of &c. John Lewis, de La Roche-
it in Cayet, *ibid.* 329. De Thou, *foucaut*, count of Randan.

ces. This man, who secretly hated the king, and beheld his success with grief, took pleasure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one answer to make to all his solicitations. In this time of confusion, when the royal treasure became a prey to the first possessor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues scarce sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increased with public misery. Henry wanted that absolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and still more the means of convicting them of any misdemeanor; for he had not the slightest knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithstanding this, he entered into a detail which became necessary for him, and obliged * D'O to deliver up certain sums, which it was not difficult to see had passed through his hands. These sums he made use of to pacify his soldiers; but this affair took up at least five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and consequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the first time in his whole life, saw himself in a situation to convert his desires into designs: "for
 " I have often had desires, said he, but never
 " found a fit opportunity to form designs." He gave the same signification to this last term that all wise men do; a scheme, the success of which is secured by reflection and prudence: and it is in this sense which every one wishes to take what seems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other person; but it is fools only who rashly engage in designs, without any appearance of succeeding in them.

During his stay at Mante, D'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave him-

* Francis D'O, lord D'O, de Maillebois, and de Fresne, master of the wardrobe to Henry III first gentleman of the chamber, super-

intendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and isle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

1590. self the trouble to come to Rosny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made such an impression on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the same justice was done me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almost the only consequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requested this post, bestowed it on a catholic *, at which I made loud complaints. I confess, to my confusion, that if I had seriously considered the situation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and those catholics that were in his service, ready to seize the slightest occasion of disgust for a pretence to quit him, I should not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his person, what he refused to a faithful servant. There was more greatness of mind in being satisfied with the friendship of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the necessity of the time.

All obstacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have surrendered through the correspondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come so far in vain, and being besides informed that the place was destitute of ammunition, he undertook the siege of it. It was not long before he found himself, through the malice of his secret enemies, in a general want of all things necessary to finish this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the shame, he gave out, that he raised this siege, in order to go and invest Paris itself, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil,

* This government was given to Monsieur de Rosny's youngest brother.

Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis †, which he seized in his way. 1590.

I was not at any of these sieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had invested Paris; and not able to resist the desire I had to be present at this expedition, I set out, with my arm however in a scarf, and supported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his usual goodness, and commanded me to stay near his person. He communicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, which he was resolved at the same time to carry into execution over all the suburbs; in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he designed to storm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his scheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, that he might send supplies wherever there was occasion for them. He placed himself in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no share in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me stay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour *, and I.

The attack began at midnight, with a frightful noise of the artillery, which was answered by that of the city. There was not one person, who did not think that this immense city would be destroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a spectacle more capable of inspiring horror. Thick clouds of smoke, through which darted by intervals sparks of fire, or long trains of flames, co-

† Cities of the isle of France. Forget, lord of Fresne, his ma-

* Du-Plessis Mornay, Martin jesty's secretaries. Alibour his
Rusé, lord of Beaulieu, and Peter physician.

1590.  vered all that space of earth, which, by the vicissitude of light and darkness, seemed now plunged in thick shades of night, and now swallowed up in a sea of fire: The thunder of the artillery, the clashing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was still increased by the natural horror of night. This scene continued two whole hours, and was closed with the reduction of all the suburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a considerable distance. They blocked up the city-gates, so that nothing could enter without the permission of those who guarded them; and the people immediately saw themselves reduced to an excess of misery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I must be permitted to pass slightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleasure, enlarge upon so dreadful a subject. The king, naturally compassionate, was moved with the distress of the Parisians: he could not bear the thoughts of seeing this city, the empire of which was destined for him by Providence, become one vast church-yard. He secretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to observe the supplies of provisions which the officers and soldiers suffered to enter the city, either out of compassion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a design to make the citizens purchase them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the hearts of the Parisians; but he was deceived, they enjoyed his benefits without ceasing to look upon him as the author of their miseries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they insulted him, who only raised the siege because he was too much affected with the miseries of the besieged*.

* Prefix, Cayet, and many king was withheld from taking Paris others are also of opinion, that the by storm, and from yielding to the

To justify an action, in itself as much blamed by 1590.
 the masters in the art of war, as praised for its
 motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king caused
 it to be reported, that his design in raising the siege
 of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma*,

repeated intreaties of his soldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occasion they were resolved to revenge the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the sword. "The duke of Nemours, says Peretix, sent all useleſs mouths out of Paris: the king's council opposed his granting them paſſage; but the king, being informed of the dreadful ſcarcity to which theſe miſerable wretches were reduced, ordered that they ſhould be allowed to paſs. I am not ſurpriſed, ſaid he, that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the league, have no compaſſion upon theſe poor people, they are only tyrants; as for me, I am their father and their king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being pierced to my inmoſt ſoul, and ardently deſiring to bring them relief." Peretix, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondi, biſhop of Paris, having been ſent, during this ſiege, to make Henry propoſitions for peace: "I will not diſſemble, ſaid he, but diſcover my ſentiments to you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I deſire it myſelf; I would give one finger to have a battle, and two to have a general peace. I love my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I am deſirous of doing her ſervice, and would grant her more favours than the demands of me; but I would not grant them voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Maenne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Pariſians would capitulate

late before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raiſed at once compaſſion and horror: in the ſpace of a month, 30,000 perſons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the fleſh of their children: by the Spaniſh ambaffador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made uſe of their bones pounded, to compoſe a kind of paſte. This deteſtable food coſt the greateſt part of thoſe that eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the hiſtorians, particularly in the ſecond volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 358, &c. Read alſo the fine verſes of the Henriade upon this ſubject, Canto the tenth. The Pariſians owed their ſafety chiefly to the duke of Nemours; whoſe gallant defence has been lightly praiſed by our writers. The people ſeconded him with an obſtinate eagernels, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of prieſts and monks were ſeen there, Capuchins, Folletans, Carthuſians, &c. groteſquely armed above their frocks. This aukward regiment being eager to ſalute the legate, killed his ſecretary at his ſide. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictines, the Celeſtins, and ſome orders, would have no part in this military maſquerade. Cayet's Ch. Novenn. ib. 366.

* Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia, ſon to Octavio Farnese, and Margaret of Austria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranucio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Odoard Farnese, cardinal.

1590. and by a decisive action put an end to a war already too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from a city so populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and address, and was happily effected on the first or second of September in the same year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

The king * knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and posted himself between this city and Paris, and made his light horse advance as far as Claye †; where the two camps being so contiguous, several smart encounters ensued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's representations, preferred to this post that of Chelles ‡, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous post, and at the same time fitter to shut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had still views upon the city, and carried on a correspondence within it, which if the prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithstanding. The king then took possession of a rising-ground, which on one side presented nothing to view but a deep valley and a morass, that took away all possibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill opposite to ours. It was neither his design nor his interest to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp an-

* De Thou says, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raised the siege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his soldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris

had only prevailed upon to stay with him, should abandon him. Book xcix.

† A town between Paris and Meaux.

‡ A town between Paris and Meaux.

swered this purpose exactly, as he was there sheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became sensible of the error, which too much complaisance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this position, he saw Lagny * taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it †.

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, mortified him extremely, because he was sensible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in judgment, which this prince considered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him still more uneasiness was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread, these disadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the assistance of persons, by whom the disobedience of his soldiers, and his want of money, were occasioned? and he was convinced that this disposition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increased. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thousand fatal proofs of it.

He now resolved upon a very prudent measure, and indeed the only one that was left him.

* A city of Brie upon the Marne.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greatest part of the historians, who will not confess that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occasion. They cannot agree amongst themselves, either about the raising the siege of Paris, or all these different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumstance in the same manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault, of preferring the post of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king

to raise the siege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewise upon all these expeditions Matthieu, *ibid.* 53, &c. and the other historians. The prince of Parma was desirous of seeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed, said he to the duke of Maëenne, that the king of Navarre makes more use of boots than shoes, and that to ruin him we must protract the time, and employ delays, rather than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. *ibid.* 390.

1590. No longer persisting in his design of taking Paris, which so many circumstances concurred to ruin, he quitted his post at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whose interests clashed with those of its leader, and suddenly abandoning all those quarters, retreated to the river of Oise, and fixed at Creil *; where, without ceasing to harass the prince of Parma, he suffered him slowly to consume of himself. During this time, he made no other motions than what served to hinder his army from being enervated by sloth. He laid siege to Clermont †, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he posted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartraine, and part of the isle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his person, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great services; the wound in my hip not permitting me to sit my horse but with great uneasiness, and that in my elbow took away the use of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreseen: the prince of Parma boasted of his advantage in being master of the field; and that he might make use of it, laid siege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royalist Towns, with whatever was necessary to enable them to hold out against a long siege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was astonished at the firm resistance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time despaired of subduing; but thinking his honour was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and succeeded at last. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a second at the same price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wisest thing

* A town upon the Oise.

† In Beauvaisis.

he could do was to return to the Low Countries: 1590. which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his presence had greatly relieved. ~~~~~

He judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expression may be allowed) closed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the same ease as the rest. He was not mistaken; but he acted with so much prudence, that he prevented the last misfortune which must unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and skirmishes, sometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The most considerable of these little battles, was at the passage over the river of Aîne. It was upon this occasion, that the baron de Biron * engaged himself so far amongst the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in person, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have lost his life there, or at least his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the rest during this whole march, which was an excellent school for a soldier to learn his trade in. It no less justified the conduct the king had till then observed, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aside only the terms of ignominious and shameful, which the courtiers, eager to please this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjustly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is certain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army useless, which had promised itself the conquest of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakness, and his dexterity in seizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to persons consummate

* Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal,

1591. in the art of war, and equally struck the eyes of the ignorant*. The king's conduct upon this occasion, gave his partisans new courage. Several towns submitted, and some catholics came over to his side; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either because he began to be afraid of him, or was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the assistance of a man, who might have been indeed of some use to him; but who, in my opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies† in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all those interested catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors‡, by means of a correspondence, which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in many others. Messieurs De Nevers, D'O, and other catholics, put in practice all those mean artifices,

* " Henry IV. says father Matthieu, when he was in pursuit of the prince of Parma, stole away from Attichy, and went, for the first time, to see the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented himself with eating some bread and butter at the gate, that he might not raise any suspicion in her father. Afterwards mounting his horse, he said, he was going towards the enemy, and that the fair one should soon hear what he had performed through his passion for her. Vol. II. p. 59.

† By all the letters that passed

between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

‡ A city of Vexin.

which procured them favours that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this post to one of their own religion. 1591.

I was too sincere to dissemble my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself upon this subject at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, seemed not to be moved with my invectives against the catholics, although he secretly agreed that I was injured, and only answered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at present; we will talk of this affair another time. I must confess, added he, after I retired, that he has some reason for his complaints; his temper is naturally fiery: however, he will never be guilty of any thing base or wicked, for he is a good man, and loves honour." In the first emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's estate, taking only six gentlemen, and my domestics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin*, the count of Tonnerre† prevailed upon me, to assist him in an attempt he made upon Joigny‡. His design was to force with a petard a postern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebusiers, which he had got together in haste. They followed him about two hundred steps into the city; but here their leader falling by a shot from an arquebuse, terror seized them, and they hastily retreated towards the postern, carrying the wounded

* Upon the confines of Champagne, and Orleans.

† In Champagne, upon the

‡ Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

1591. count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear redoubling, they had the baseness to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty steps from the postern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his assistance, with only twenty men: for notwithstanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon those cowardly soldiers to face about. However, I rescued Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien*, of which he was governor; after which I mustered up his brave troop, and resumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the king's former goodness to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the siege of Chartres†; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and address of Chatillon‡. I was prevented from being present at this siege, by an adventure the most dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

Returning from an assault which Chatillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious structure, the king, who observed that my former ardour for his service was not diminished, called me, and com-

* A city of Orleanois upon the Loire.

† “The magistrate of this city made him a very long harangue; and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was subject to the king, by divine and human right; the king, out of patience at his prolixity, interrupted him, pushing forward his horse to enter, and said, Ay, and add also, by the canons right.” Father Chalon's history of France, vol. III. p. 227. This siege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415, and other historians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, son to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne. He died this year 1591, in his castle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret D'Ailly de Péquigny, three sons. The calvinist party had a great loss in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three sons of D'Anelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were sons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, sole heirs of the house of Laval. Book lxxxv.

manded me to bring my company before Chartres. 1591.
I was obliged to go and get my men together myself, and at the same time to provide every thing necessary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I saw a brigade of twenty horse in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white scarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even seen us, they struck into the wood; from which, according to the course of the road I had taken, I could not expect to see them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the rest of my troop, which consisted only of six other gentlemen, and four servants, who followed at some distance separately. These troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their measures so well, that they met us at the passage out of the forest, just where our road crossed theirs. The two first took off their hats, when to the word, *Qui vive?* we answered, *Vive le roi*; but at the same time taking advantage of our security, fired close to our breasts. I saw three of the foremost take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have escaped; but doubtless, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conscience, caused the hands of these villains to tremble, so that of three shots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La Ruë was the only person who fell.

The rest of my troop running up at the noise, surrounded me, crying, "*Vive Rosny*." We altogether charged our assailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we lost sight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houses, which covered my

1591. my face with small shot. By this circumstance I concluded, that our adversaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of soldiers, who only sought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After several times calling to those traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wisest way to leave them, and take some care of my wounds; especially that in my neck, which was the most considerable, and by which I lost a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the house of Monsieur d'Auteuil*, I put the first dressing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was six weeks under the surgeons hands. During this space, the king's army not only seized Chartres, but Corbie likewise. Parabere had the conduct of this siege, in the absence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin†, by his new passion for mademoiselle D'Estrées‡.

* M. de Combault d'Auteuil.

† It is to this year, and while Henry IV. staid at St. Quentin, that we must bring back this prince's Letter to M. de Rosny, which is without date, and may be seen amongst the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from Mante are, that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you have any desire to refresh yourself and grow fat, it is my opinion, that you ought to come hither; mean time your brother will send us news from thence of our siege at Chartres," &c.

From several places in these Memoirs, where the share Henry IV. gave to M. de Rosny in all his resolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his conversion, which we shall come to presently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have transcribed the foregoing letter to shew by an-

other testimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity imposed upon his readers. The historians have not mentioned this minister till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the soul of all the actions and councils of Henry the great. 'Tis easy to trace this time back to his most early youth; tho' indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compose a life, wherein no period of it seems to have been that of youth. This advantage must be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and serious, over those more lively and full of fire.

‡ She is often mentioned in the course of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; she was daughter of John Antony D'Estrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaisiere. She bore successively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioness of Montceaux, and dutchess of Beaufort.

The siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial relation of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand brave actions were performed by the besieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, sent orders to the duke D'Aumale*, lieutenant general, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all possible assistance till he approached. The duke D'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it; but La Chantellerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viscount de Tavannes†, major general, thinking he might be more successful, presented himself with four hundred arquebusiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us; who, after the *Qui vive*, charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have resisted, were all wounded, and taken prisoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horse, which he had ordered Belanglife to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attacked them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so bravely, that the baron de Biron, Messieurs de la Hargerie‡, and de la Boissiere, had time to come up to their assistance: after which, these two troops joining, they defeated D'Aumale's whole detachment, which consisted of

1591.

* Charles de Lorraine, duke d'Aumale, son of Claude, slain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorraine's sons; from whence issued all the branches of the house of Lorraine in France: that of D'Aumale was extinct soon after.

† John de Saulx, viscount of Tavannes, one of the marshals of the league. See a relation of the sieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all these expeditions in the above-named historians.

‡ Lewis D'Ogniés de la Hargerie count of Chaune.

1591. five hundred horse, and as many horse arquebusers. Very few reached Ham * without wounds, and a great number of prisoners were taken.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that these shattered remains retreated thither, was a witness of his loss, and protested publicly, that he would efface this shame, either by raising the siege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Rosne † to bring him the Spanish troops under the command of the prince of Ascoli in Champagne; and finding himself at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he saw that he had to do with men, who seemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had represented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to pass through his army, that he had engaged to surrender the place in six days, if no succours were sent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Ascoli, and the duke of Aumale, suffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deserved to have been better seconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private soldier, became governor of Pierrefond, by his skill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himself into it, with fifty horse, and as many arquebusers, to reassure this city, where all were in consternation and dismay, and to hold it out till the last extremity.

The duke of Maïenne seeing that his army was now useless, sent it into quarters, and marched slowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correspondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his design upon that place. He privately drew out the garrisons of Paris, Dreux,

* Another city upon the Somme.

† Christian de Savigny, baron of Rosne, in the dutchy of Bar.

and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself with-
in musquet-shot of this city, before day. My
brother * was governor of it, and I was then there
myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the
field. As soon as I was informed of the enemies
arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head
bound up; and causing some discharges to be fired
at the assailants, forced them to abandon their
design.

The duke of Maïenne succeeded no better before
Houdan †, which he alarmed as he passed by.
My other brother, who was there with his regi-
ment, and some companies, gave him such a re-
ception, that he retreated with disgrace.

What had happened at Mante, joined to the in-
formation my brother had received, convinced us,
that the enemies had a correspondence in the city.
After consulting together upon what was necessary
to be done on this occasion, I fixed upon the fol-
lowing expedient: I had still in my pay six of
those brave soldiers, who served as a forlorn hope
in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their
pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then
in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not re-
fuse them, and their fidelity I was absolutely assured
of. As it had been concerted with us two, they
pretended to be discontented with the governor of
Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison
of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They
immediately proposed to D'Alincourt ‡ to make
him master of Mante by the connexion which they
told him they still had in that place. To convince
the governor of this, they asked for four soldiers,
whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante,

* Solomon de Bethune, called Normandy.
baron de Remy, the author's youngest brother, and the third of those four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of these Memoirs.
† On the borders of France and

‡ Charles de Neufville, marquis D'Alencourt, son to Nicolas de Neufville de Villeroy, secretary of state: he will be mentioned after-wards.

1591. and directed them to get acquainted with some citizens, who were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. These four soldiers found so little difficulty in the prosecution of their design, that D'Alencourt, believing the success of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoise, and the joy which so well concerted an enterprise occasioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon*, resided in that city.

Mean time I took my measures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that stood near that side; after which I introduced into the place, by small divisions at different times, the best soldiers of the garrisons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought myself obliged to send and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that passed; which ruined our project. This prince could not resist the desire he had to receive the duke of Maienne himself in Mante, and imagined he took sufficient precaution against hurting our scheme, by not entering Mante till the

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the stone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged sixty-seven years; a prince, who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The person mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, son to Lewis the first, prince of Condé, slain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John D'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soissons. He is mentioned in another place.

night that it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horse, and the same number of foot. As for me, when I saw him arrive, I was so well persuaded that all our measures were broke, that I could not help reproaching him with some warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and exposing, perhaps, the lives of the four soldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might appear against them. The king assuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to sup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himself upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other staid with the king. Just as I had retired to rest, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to observe the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maienne having received advice that some troops, led by the king in person, had entered Mante in the night, supposed his design was discovered, and had retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the same report, and as a proof of the truth of what he said, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and such other instruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already saw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obstruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the soldiers who escaped on both sides could not be silent.

The king succeeded better at Louviers*. This city kept a priest†, in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a spy with great exactness. If he saw but a single person in the field, he rung a certain bell,

* In Upper Normandy. † This priest was called John de la Tour.

1591. and at the same side hung out a great flag. We did not despair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promise of a benefice worth three thousand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain some of the garrison; the Sieur Du Rollet took this upon himself, and succeeded. He addressed himself to a corporal and two soldiers; who easily prevailed upon the rest of the garrison to trust the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king presented himself before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night*. No one rung the bell, nor was there the least motion in the garrison. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king passed, without the smallest resistance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made some ineffectual efforts to draw the garrison together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whose chief riches consisted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great use to us in discovering where these sort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amassed together. The produce of my share amounted to three thousand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king consigned to Du Rollet.

The same good fortune attended the duke of Montpensier in all his enterprises in Normandy†.

* June 5.

† In the Lower Normandy Falaize, Baieux, Argentan Lizieux, &c. were in the interest of the league; Caën, Alençon, Sées, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The most considerable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpensier cut off the leaguers

of those cantons, whom they called Gaultiers, to the number of five or six thousand. They were commanded by the count of Brissac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, and a thousand taken prisoners; the rest escaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which is at present scarce a village, was

This success was no more than necessary to com- 1591.
 fort the king for the news he received, that the
 duke of Guise *, whom he considered as his prin-
 cipal enemy, had escaped from the castle of Tours,
 where he had been confined ever since the assassi-
 nation at Blois. The king now resumed his for-
 mer design of attempting Rouen. Secure of the
 assistance and affection of almost all the cities of
 Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for some
 time past he had fixed his abode, and made it a
 little capital for the residence of his court and
 council; and caused his troops to file off towards
 this city. While preparations were making for
 this important siege, Henry took a private journey
 to Compeigne, of which love was the true cause,
 though he gave out that it was to send to Ger-
 many for a recruit of horse. The viscount Tu-
 renne undertook this affair, through gratitude for
 the king's having effected, and honoured with his
 presence, his marriage with mademoiselle de Se-
 dan †, daughter, and sole heiress of the deceased

taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpensier
 extirpated this whole party, and
 reduced several of the rebellious
 cities. He was assisted by the
 count of Torigny, Mess. D'Emery,
 De Loncaunai, De Beuvron, De
 Vignes, De Bacqueville, L'Archant,
 and others. See these expeditions
 in the third volume of the Me-
 moirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, son of
 Henry duke of Guise, who was
 slain at Blois, and of Catherine
 of Cleves. He was born in the
 year 1571. "The flight of the
 "duke of Guise will ruin the
 "league," said Henry IV. as it
 is related by Le Grain. The duke's
 valet de chambre having found
 means to amuse Rouvrai, and his
 guards, either by play, or drink-
 ing, let him down from the highest
 window in the castle, in the midst
 of the day, with a rope, which
 he afterwards made use of to de-
 scend himself. The duke got into
 a small boat, which carried him
 to the other side of the river,
 where two horses waited for him,
 &c. Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 87.
 Cayet, Vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.
 † Charlotte de la Mark, daugh-
 ter of Robert de la Mark, sove-
 reign prince of Sedan, and of Fran-
 ces of Bourbon-Montpensier, by
 the death of her brother, Wil-
 liam Robert de la Mark, duke of
 Bouillon, which happened at Ge-
 neva, in the year 1588, she be-
 came heiress of this principality.
 The duke, in his last will, forbid
 his sister to marry a Roman catho-
 lic. This circumstance, the king's
 friendship for the viscount Tu-
 renne, his desire of taking the
 lady from the dukes of Lorrain,
 Montpensier, and Nevers, each of
 whom demanded her for his son;
 policy, which advised him to give

1591.

duke of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. nor was I, for my part, sorry that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, some time longer, at Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, with whom chance had brought me acquainted; and the inclination I felt for her was strong enough to make me entertain thoughts of a second morriage.

The king had expressly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandises, and every kind of provision into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing else, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of passes, especially on the side of the Seine, gained by the immense sums, which they procured them, almost publickly granted the necessary passports for merchants, and masters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me, that a large boat, whose lading was reputed worth fifty thousand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days stay, a less one would bring back the produce in silver to Rouen; which he was well assured of, because his father had charge of the boat. I caused it to be so well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I saw with astonishment the passport signed by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but caused the boat and its master to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thousand crowns in specie. But seeing only some pieces of gold and silver thread, and a piece of Spanish silk, I threatened

an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorraine; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viscount to lay aside his design of making himself head of the calvinists in France: these were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heiress of Sedan to the viscount of Turenne.

to put the master of the boat into a dungeon. 1591.
 The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for six and thirty thousand crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale; but as he defended himself with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun *. He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. 'Tis impossible to express the confusion he was in at this accident. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the room, I ordered him to strip, and found seven thousand crowns in gold sewed up in his cloaths. I was then in some necessity for money, and waiting for the sale of my corn, wood, and hay, at Rosny: the king made me a present of this sum, and was extremely pleased with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the siege of Rouen.

The king had never seen himself at the head of such considerable forces. Four thousand English were sent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected soon a second reinforcement from England, which landed during the siege, commanded by the earl of Essex †, the minister and favourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of this prince, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped, with two thousand five hundred

* A gold coin current in those times. It was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI. and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is sixty-four sols.

† Robert D'Evreux, earl of Essex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth. Villeroy's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 249.

1591. soldiers, under the command of count Philip of Nassau, on board, to the coast of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viscount Turenne took this title after his marriage) succeeded so well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or six thousand horse, and some companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. These foreign auxiliaries, joined to six thousand Swiss, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from several places, particularly Normandy; and to those troops, either protestants or catholics, that were at his own disposal, composed, in all, an army of forty thousand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furnish provisions, and every thing necessary for a siege, which could not fail of being long, the goodness of the place, and the strength of the garrison considered. The marquis of Villars *, well known for his courage and capacity, shut himself up there with the son of the duke of Maienne, resolved to bury themselves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we sat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raise the siege, there passed almost six months; and what is worse, six winter months: for it was invested the first of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the besiegers, and a resistance on that of the besieged, some circumstances of which I shall relate.

The troops of the besiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Fresne l'Esplen, whither I seldom went, the king having honoured me with a lodging in his. Here I disposed myself for a long stay, and hardly ever quitted him or the ma-

* André de Brancas. Villars, of the same with that of the marquis the ancient family of Brancatio, of Villars, which is descended from originally Neapolitan. It is not Honoré bastard of Savoy.

rechal de Biron. At first there appeared such an emulation amongst the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all disputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their services; and declared that every fourth day he would himself work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his person, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I had solicited beforehand for a post in the artillery, for which my inclination was so strong, that I submitted to serve not only under the marechal de Biron, but messieurs de La Guiche *, de Borne, and de Fayolles also. But Biron, who hated me, gained over these generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reason to be well pleased; for those pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

This it was that gave rise to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what side the place should be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we should begin with the castle; I, on the contrary, did not scruple to maintain, that we ought first to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This question was a long time the subject of all conversations, as well at the table, as council; and Biron never forgot the expression I generally used, *The city taken, the castle must surrender.*

I cannot comprehend how a man so experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the castle, which, not to mention the uncommon skill of the commander, and strength of the garrison, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumstance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John du Dursert de Bener, Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles.

1591. number of soldiers could be brought against it which the besieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

However, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependence to which he had accustomed the other general officers, secured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himself that nothing could be able to resist so strong an army, took those measures which he thought most honourable, and likeliest to bring the siege soon to an end; and the king, who was resolved not to spare * himself, by following this advice, seemed to be of the same opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raised by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whispered in the army, that he had asked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refused him, because he had before promised it to Du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monsieur de Montpensier; and that he endeavoured secretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave such advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, these continual contests with the duke of Bouillon had more than once been like to ruin all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raised a mutiny amongst the horse and other German forces which he had brought with him.

* Perhaps also they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the design was discovered by the besieged. *Memoirs of the league*, Vol. V. Those writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice against that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they should begin the attack, say, that it was very difficult, and, at the same time very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort

of St. Catherine, the hill especially being so near the city. See, upon the operations of this siege, F. Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 96, and following. Cayet, *Chron. Novenn.* Vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion against the marechal Biron) and other historians.

† Francis de Montmorency Du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the siege of Rouen, and afterwards slain by the marquis d'Allegre.

The batteries were accordingly raised opposite to the fort, and we contented ourselves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there some companies of German foot, which having been worsted in several sallies that were made on that side, yielded the post to the Dutch, who understood sieges better than they. In effect, these last maintained themselves there, and prevented any more sallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impossible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himself within; he sallied out of the castle, and caused a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-against the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of six or seven hundred men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only disordered the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the same time they had the garrison from within in front, the king resolved to seize it, and rendered it useless to the enemy. For this purpose he made choice of the same night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred musketeers. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench in different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on both sides. We used our utmost endeavours to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms loosened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permission

1591. to keep near me, raised me, put my arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order some gabions, hogf-heads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it.

Villars did not expect to have seen his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himself who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," said he, "this prince deserves a thousand crowns for his valour. I am sorry that, by a better religion, he does not inspire us with as strong an inclination to gain him new ones as to detain from him his own; but it shall never be said, that I have failed to attempt on my own person what a great king has performed in his." In effect, he put himself at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking also eight hundred musketeers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English, and dislodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and resolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a second attempt. The English, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deserved, intreated the king to put a hundred English gentlemen in his troop, and to suffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occasion, to be English likewise. They also demanded leave to sustain the first effort of the enemy, and behaved so bravely, that the trench was a second time regained: they afterwards maintained themselves in it, and took away from the besieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obstinate struggle for a trench only, it is easy to judge of the event of a siege,
of

of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was sensible, that notwithstanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in succeeding. It was the good destiny of France that preserved this prince on occasions, when he hazarded his person in such a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to express our common fears, when he drew me aside, in the presence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converse with me upon the present situation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwise, my friend," replied he, as soon as I began to expostulate with him; "and since it is for my glory and crown that I fight, my life and every thing else ought to be of no consideration with me."

It is certain, that in the king's situation he could not do less than he did, to persuade the world, that if this siege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all those instances of shining valour were no more than necessary to efface the shame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he should succeed in, almost as much as the enemies themselves. These were the very same catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who, not contented with having obliged him to begin the siege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impossible, suffered him to sustain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profess a religion different from their own.

It was to express himself freely upon so many causes of uneasiness, that he was desirous of discoursing with me, and I then said nothing to him which he did not know as well as myself, at so little trouble were his domestic enemies to conceal their sentiments. He told me, he had perceived for

1591.

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1591. for some time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the desertion of all the catholics in his army, "which will bring along with it," added he, "the ruin of the state, and the house of Bourbon; for if they once break with me, they will never more chuse a king out of that family." He added, that this disobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to dissemble the knowledge of. He made me observe, that at the very time we were speaking, messieurs De Nevers, De Longueville, De la Guiche, D'O, and De Châteaueux, jealous of so familiar a conversation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciously from a corner of the hall, and whispered continually together. For this reason, he said, it would be necessary to separate, and that he would go and tell them our discourse turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this conversation.

Nothing could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the siege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wished for, but still less for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would arise from the gaining over such a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of La Font, for whom Villars had great consideration, though he was only his steward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domestic into his service, after he had left mine; and that La Font owed his favour with his new master to those testimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had struck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get La Font sounded upon the subject. His answer, which I related to the king, was, that at present he saw no appearance of what I proposed to him; and, far from consenting to see me,



as I desired, he said he thought himself obliged, 1591.  
to preven this master's entertaining any suspicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All he could do, therefore, was to observe if monsieur de Villars changed his sentiments; and in that case to confirm him as much as possible in them, and to inform me of it.

Henry thought no more of it; but before we separated he asked me what he ought to do with regard to the siege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had just learned, had passed the Somme, to join his troops with those of the duke of Maienne. The king made no question that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would easily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breast to determine upon which of them he pleased: one of which was, to change absolutely the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the side of the city, and there use his utmost endeavours to make himself master of it before the enemy should appear: the other, that without loss of time he should go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repass the Somme, after which he might continue the siege without fear.

The king resolved upon the last; but, as by following it he had no design to raise the siege, lest the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, should afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with seven or eight thousand horse, who were of no use at the siege; and that he would attack him with this cavalry, or, if he had not passed the Somme, dispute the passage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myself to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, chosen from the rest of the company.

I returned at the end of two days from Fresne l'Esplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that

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that Villars had made a sally at the head of a hundred horse, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cause of much greater confusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer (whose name I have forgot,) Grillon, and some others who were about him: these three gentleman especially gained immortal glory there. Grillon's \* arms was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witnesses of it.

The prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that, as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; and he likewise waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. †, and those of the duke of Maienne, who however came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the Council of Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had trusted them with, had dared to hang the president Brisson ‡, and some other counsellors as venerable

\* James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V. died in the month of August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "here is a trick of Spanish policy: I have lost a pope who was every thing to me."

‡ Barnaby Brisson, Claude Larcher, and John Tardif, lord Du Ru,

counsellors of the parliament. "A catastrophe very unworthy of so learned and excellent a man," says Mezeray, speaking of the president Brisson, "but usual to those who think to keep well with two parties." For the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who re-



for their virtue as their age; and who might possibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maienne, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of these rebels \* against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as in executing this act of justice he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as soon as had been expected.

The king, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left to the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, whose forces he weakened but by seven or eight thousand horse; consisting from three to four thousand French troopers, as many German horse, and a thousand horse-arquebusers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neuf-Châtel; the second by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

We met a considerable party, led by messieurs de Rosne †, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la

mained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of first president, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon him the post of president. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The duke of Maienne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the historians.

\* One of the sixteen, named Normand, said one day in the duke

of Maienne's chamber, "Those who made him, have a right to unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests, instead of soldiers, to seize the counsellor Tardif in his house.

† Christian or Chrétien de Savigny, baron of Rosne; John de Montluc de Balagny; Lewis de l'Hopital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine de Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This last was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoisis; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in the year 1595, at the siege of Dourlans, at the

Châtre,

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Châtre, St. Pol, La Mothe, and others, who had doubtless advanced with the same design as we, to discover the situation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, messieurs de Lavardin, de Givry \*, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure †, and some others, to go and attack them, who were repulsed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horse to disengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more considerable, at least between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wished for, sent orders to Nevers to hasten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary design, and restrained his squadrons, who had retreated of themselves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, seeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midst of so many battalions, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at † Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a surprize, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy so greatly superiour to him in numbers,

head of the Spanish artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had just created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in De Thou, book cxii.

\* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taste for polite literature. Claude de l'Isle Marivaut; René-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut; — Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of those persons in whom the king confided, and was called by him

nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occasions. The vol. of manuscripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the siege of Montauban.

† John lord d'Arambure:

† This town, and some of those places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

awakened



awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us to represent the consequences to him in very strong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we proposed to him, when glory was in question, did not alter his conduct; but satisfied himself with naming thirty of us to continue near his person, and not to leave him upon any occasion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in some degree, made it less desirable. With this precaution, which was no more than necessary, he only resigned himself still more to his eager thirst of glory.

Being informed that the duke of Guise, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himself at the head of his troop to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures \*, he resolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmost bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horse and a thousand horse-arquebusers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The duke of Guise's green standard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of these troopers should escape, especially their colonel, sent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers † to advance to Bully, that he might possess himself of the road through which he supposed the duke of Guise and the fugitives would retreat to the rest of the army, and to take them prisoners. I was ordered to sustain the duke of Nevers with sixty horse, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in such hands the affair would have an end very unworthy the beginning.

The duke of Nevers, who was the slowest of all men, began by sending to make choice of the

\* In Beauvaisis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his mar-

riage with Henrietta of Cleves, dutchess of Nevers.

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most favourable roads, and marched with a slow pace to Bully, with his hands and nose in his muff, and his whole person well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occasion to boast of his extreme caution. It was so long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or six hundred men into Bully, who made such haste that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the sun was risen the next day when he had just ascended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is situated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an excess of caution against a flying enemy: the first, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the second, which amounted to an hundred, went some few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foresight, he forgot to make sure of this passage, and had not sent a single soldier to keep guard there. He began to descend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more so, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His first couriers, entering the city, were sufficiently surprized at the sight of so much good company; but the cold having obliged the soldiers to unarm themselves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themselves round a large fire that they had kindled, these fifty couriers had time to save themselves by flight. They did not direct their course to that side where their master was, but passed quite through the city, and went out at the opposite end, without being in the least troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whose coach at that time was sunk into the deepest part of a declivity, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noise of some fusileers who were firing after his first couriers, and the second coming to make their report, full of consternation,



tion, he was frozen with terror; and resolving now to lose no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without several times exclaiming, “The devil,” and quarrelling with his servants for not coming soon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made use of it, to return with more speed to the place where he had lain the preceding night. It was thus that we seconded the king upon this occasion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far less than the fear, since not a single man was lost.

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The prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not, for the future, suffer his van-guard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the king almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's side, and well deserving of a particular relation here.

Some days after that I have just mentioned, the king following the prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced with six thousand horse as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horse-arquebusiers, and with this body of men to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and number of the

1592. enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut  
 off some squadrons.

He ascended the hill of Aumale \* with his nine hundred horse, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the sky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a second time saw Givry return, who came to satisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was so near that they heard distinctly the sound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to observe it himself, made an exact review of it, and found that it consisted of seventeen or eighteen thousand infantry, with seven or eight thousand cavalry, who marched very close; the cavalry, in the midst of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impossible. From this situation of the enemy, he found he had still too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repass the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horse of his squadron to stop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to assist him, if there should be occasion. Five hundred arquebusiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to post them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harraßs the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horse, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmost astonishment at the rashness of a design, which seemed to expose the king to inevitable death. No one durst venture to expostulate with him, yet knew not how to be silent. At length I was chosen and deputed by the rest to represent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he exposed himself, and to intreat him to

\* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.



alter his resolution. This commission I performed with all imaginable caution. “ ’Tis fear,” replied the king, “ that occasions this request: from you, “ of all others, I never expected to hear such a “ proposition.” I conjured him not to think so unjustly of any of us; and told him, that all we required was that he would give us what orders he pleased, provided he would himself retire. Henry confessed to me afterwards, that he was sensibly affected with these words; and repenting of what he had said to me, replied, that no expressions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. “ But,” added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to speak to him any more upon this subject, “ be you also assured, that I am not so “ rash as you imagine; that I am as careful of “ myself as any other, and that I will retreat so “ seasonably that no misfortune shall happen.”

The prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a snare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he should meet with the king’s, which he supposed to be concealed, and much superior to his. He even suspected a long time, that the king’s whole army was not far off; and, having no design to engage him, he did not quit his post, which was in the centre of the army, where he was seated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to restrain the ardour of the soldiers, who suffered with impatience a hundred men to insult thirty thousand. However, when he was assured, by the report of his light horse and his carabineers, that at present he had but a hundred horse in front, and that if there was any cavalry it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should risk nothing by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and at so many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that

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our arquebusiers had posted themselves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having first warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might suspect an ambuscade in this place, and stop. In effect, they did stop short; but finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or sixty shots which we fired upon them, they came on again more furiously.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuse a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been prescribed for them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongst us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with our pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to his assistance in this extremity, resolved to make his retreat; which, on this occasion, was almost as dangerous as a defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horse he had sent thither made so good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever persuaded that he only

fought



sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale. 1592.

The king, on his side, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our fears and consternation by assuring us, that it was a very inconsiderable one. He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something very extraordinary, that amongst us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed \* in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whose lives † will afford so shining an instance of valour and good conduct.

The prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, and finishing the war that day by the death or taking of the king; for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maienne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the sole advantage.

\* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in these descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 100, and our best historians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having sent to the

prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; but that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he was obliged to retire." *Peref. ibid.* part ii. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in war you have been an Alexander: it is time you should now be Augustus: it is our glory and duty to die for you: and yours, I dare tell you, sire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the *Henriade*.

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He was not able to comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league: the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a foreigner, who saw himself in the midst of a strange country, where he alone was to sustain the war. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in this last battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horse, and harrassed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and observed so prudent a conduct, that it was not possible, even at the passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of monsieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the siege became more uncertain every day: at last the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred musketeers, and three or four hundred soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off six pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, pursuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the rest to flight: in a word,

that



that he did not retire till he had destroyed almost all the works of the besiegers. 1592.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occasioned by the marechal de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander \*, yet he took care to conceal his sentiments. That irreconcilable averſion which the catholics of his party bore to the proteſtants, made them ſeize this opportunity to inſult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief ſupport of the proteſtants. The catholics ſaid openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreaſonable and unjuſt, the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with conſidered); that they expoſed themſelves to the divine vengeance by associating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a deſign of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indifcriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcaſſes a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a deſign as contrary to religion as to nature itſelf: the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the bodies, and fear left the proteſtants, who compoſed two thirds of the army, ſhould think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

\* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the marechal Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to Châtillon, on a certain occaſion, when this young man offered ſome very reaſonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geese to the paſture. When your beard is white, perhaps you may have acquired ſome knowledge. I do not approve of your ſpeaking ſo freely: that belongs only to my father here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We muſt," purſued he, embracing him, "go all to his ſchool." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

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The king, who perceived these dispositions on both sides, instead of blaming any particular person, or suffering a discontent to appear, which might increase the public broils, affected to say openly that the misfortune was not so great as had been represented. In reality, it did not appear of such consequence to the king as a discord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the first opportunity, set one half against the other. It was a mortifying circumstance for this prince, in the midst of so many causes of disquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breast, and substitute unworthy compliances in the place of absolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of subjecting all men, when it proceeds from a person distinguished for his superior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and disunited.

He was persuaded also, that after the misfortune occasioned by such bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raise the siege of Rouen: and he sought for a plausible pretence for doing so, without awakening at the same time the public dissensions. He learnt therefore with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the duke of Maienne and Sfondrate, was returning hastily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to lessen the shame of raising the siege, and to turn against the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, he sent Givry to throw himself into Neuf-Châtel \*, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very strong place, did not hold out near

\* A city in the county of Caux.



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so long as was expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry\*. Although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the violence of the storm; and was put under arrest at Dieppe, in my opinion, very unjustly. The relations and friends whom the garrison of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, seemed to me to be true cause that the place made so slight a resistance. It surrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen without receiving the least check†; and, putting himself at their head, advanced without loss of time to that side on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army must pass, he waited for it; and, as soon as it appeared, sent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being sincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general such as he knew Henry to be, and of exposing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greatest warrior in Europe, which a long series of great actions had acquired him amongst his partizans. Finding himself now in such a situation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourse to one of the most artful stratagems imaginable to avoid it: he caused the best troops amongst all his battalions to advance, and composed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without design, all his cavalry.

\* "Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time," says F. Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. vol. II. p. 102.

† This siege cost the king a great many soldiers: in those times

it was reported that he lost three thousand men, and the besieged only five hundred. The earl of Essex challenged Admiral de Villars to single combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

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Under favour of this front of infantry, in such order as was usual for an action, and seeming to wait only for the signal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which served for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and bushes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage of, they saw themselves immediately out of reach of the king's army, who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all disappeared; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, or to engage with his rear-guard.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached almost the gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be rash enough to attempt to storm him under the walls of this city; his design, therefore, was to stay there six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery \*, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aside his design of making head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it was now become useless to him, or that he was constrained to it by necessity. Part was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan,

\* St. Valery in Picardy.



and the adjoining places for its quarters: the rest he spread about Pont de l'Arche\*, Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himself at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances: it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to reunite his army in a short time. This separation, he did not doubt, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprising him, at least in his retreat.

In effect, the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be in want of provisions, represented to them that there would be no danger in spreading himself over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Pontaudemer: D'Hacqueville† delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but also feigned ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec‡, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to send supplies to La Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken likewise. He observed, with extreme satisfaction, that the enemy, after these two conquests, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and provisions, extended themselves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spanish general, however, was not without suspicion of some design in this inactivity, so unusual with Henry; and probably, had he been the sole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded

\* All these cities, as likewise the places abovenamed, are in Upper Normandy. He was gained, 'tis said, by a sum of money.

† Upon the Seine, above Rouen.

‡ — de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hac-

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so much. But his colleague, the duke of Maienne, who was detained in Rouen by an indisposition, assured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a supposition that he was better acquainted with the state of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themselves to serve his designs, resolved to hasten the execution of them. In less than eight days he assembled twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with whom he speedily advanced to Vari-carville and Fontaine-le-bourg. All the passages between Rouen and Caudebec he shut up, and began with revenging himself completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemur, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in person with ten thousand foot, and three thousand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guise. The surprize into which his sudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an easy conquest of them. The duke's squadrons were broke through at the first onset, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the slain, all the baggage, which was very considerable, in the power of the victor.

The prince of Parma, struck as with a thunder-bolt at this news, applied himself wholly to securing his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guise at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his dispersed troops, on all sides. He was desirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too small to contain it, he commanded the rest not to remove far from it, to guard their posts with great care, and to keep themselves very close. After this precaution, which he did not think sufficient, to support all the lodgments spread around his camp, he posted three thousand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified



fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp: The last step the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to escape him by his great foresight, and diligence in going wherever his presence was necessary: he was again mistaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thousand infantry, composed of an equal number of English, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and caused them to be supported by six hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack lasted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Those who defended it, seeing themselves broke through, fled in disorder to the fortified camp, after having lost eight hundred of their men. Their flight exposed the greatest part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had inclosed, as in a safe asylum, the duke of Guise, with the same van-guard that had been so badly hand'ed before. Henry, as if he had a personal hatred to the duke of Guise, hastened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confused cries he heard there, that their consternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred musqueteers and a thousand foot, armed with pistols and halberts, and attacked it in several places at the same time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected such rapid exploits, saw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the sword; and taking counsel only of necessity, ran thither himself, and vigorously sustained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He lost there seven or eight hundred men, almost all private soldiers. The greatest misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew

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as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm*.

Night approached before this battle was ended. The king, instead of taking any rest after a day of such extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himself for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet dismayed, and half vanquished, would keep close within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good; he hesitated not a moment in resolving to storm it. That readiness and dispatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæsar and Scipio, whom he studied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night six pieces of cannon, which he directed against the fortification of the camp,

* The little reliance one can have on the exactness of those military details which the historians give us, is shewn particularly in this, in which I have observed a great many contradictions amongst them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of these Memoirs relates all these expeditions in such a manner, that he seems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in less than three weeks. He can no otherwise be justified, than by supposing that he intended to give a slight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either because he was ignorant of the facts, or had no design to relate them minutely, gives room for the same mistake, as our Memoirs, Vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we must look for them; although, as I have just said, their relations differ in many circumstances. According to the

Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit most to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guise on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the first of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not pass the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the same opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82. and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Maienne prisoner at the skirmish of Yvetot, and, with as little reason, for avoiding a decisive battle, p. 109. The king is by some others accused of still greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to pass the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

that he might make use of them at the dawn of day. He visited his whole army; and kept it in such a disposition, that it might at the same time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were executed with the greatest exactness: his former successes gave an authority to all his words, that made the most mutinous obedient.

Here it is impossible to forbear praising the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be sufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at some distance from the Seine, over which, in all that space, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deserted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, those that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were spread about the neighbourhood of it, had transported themselves to the other side of the river. Can it appear otherwise than a fable, or an illusion? Scarce could the king and his army trust the evidence of their own eyes.

The prince of Parma had foreseen the king's resolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had passed, but it would be stormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foresight useless, and only productive of despair to any other, whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource: for notwithstanding all the duke of Maienne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it should happen that he should be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were so few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this

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1592. this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He caused these boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was sure of conquering.

On the king's side, but one moment was lost in astonishment: all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this proposition as it deserved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it should seem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his side; for, upon the proposal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raised in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the most unreasonable proposition imaginable. The catholics, the protestants, and foreigners, seemed to outvie each other in searching for difficulties to oppose it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country,

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country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days; whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They represented to the king, that the way through which they must pass being full of forests, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in small divisions; and that, although it should have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of so troublesome a march would make it impossible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this proposal as a design equally ridiculous and chimerical.

The king, more enraged at the secret intentions of those who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their discourse, could not hinder himself from replying with some bitterness, That all these difficulties were only unfurmountable to those, to whom fear and a dislike of fatigue made them appear so. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually send detachments of four or five hundred horse to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which also the many obstacles he would meet with would contribute, such as the passage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Passy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being sufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but those of Aquigny, Cocherel, Serisy, and two or three others which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impossible to break or burn part of these bridges, before the enemy arrived.

These arguments sufficiently proved the king's proposal to be practicable; and it may be said, that the general officers, by refusing to yield to them,

* It is acknowledged by De Pont de l'Arche. It is with great Thou, that the king might have injustice, as we find here, that he stopt this army, by sending his charges Henry IV, with this error. cavalry to shut up the passage to

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resisted the strongest conviction. And this naturally occasions two reflections: first, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made use of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different counties, manners, religions, and interests, often a very small number, and always ready to mutiny, should be able to perform what is related of him in this history. The second is, what this prince would have done, if, instead of such troops, he had had a considerable number of well-disciplined soldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, constantly attached to his person, and willing to sacrifice their lives for him; in a word, such troops as those conquerors had, whose actions have been so highly extolled by posterity? If these reflections are not made every time they offer, it is because that is in every page: and, besides, no one can be ignorant, that we should judge very ill of merit and abilities by success, if we did not at the same time judge of the success by the obstacles.

It is scarce possible to assign a reason for that invincible obstinacy which the general officers in the king's army discovered upon this occasion, in opposing so prudent a proposal, unless it was owing to that disposition of mind which I have just now mentioned. If a small number of French protestants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely with us, all the rest of the king's army, protestants, catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wished more than they feared that he might suffer some considerable loss. However, notwithstanding this disgust to their leader, on some occasions they all performed their duty, and seconded him bravely: such had been the attack of the duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had

had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependance upon each other, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their usual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewise of a small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceness, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are so much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become sensible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable disposition, when the king made a motion to pursue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the king did not abjure Calvinism, within a certain term which they prescribed to him, and reunite themselves with the rest of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: these catholics could not relish a project, which, by making the king master of his enemies, would put him into a condition of giving them the law, instead of receiving it from them.

The huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the necessity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being sacrificed, while the king only sacrificed himself to that necessity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehension that, by extirpating the league, they should only labour for the catholics against their own interest, they the easier reconciled themselves to circumstances which would at least make the balance even, and render them necessary: and, in case the king should one day forsake their religion,

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they were resolved to take such measures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a master.

These precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain such favourable edicts, and so many other securities, that the king, although a catholic, should find it his interest to be well with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed absolutely the resolutions of the party, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or six hundred German horse under his command subservient. On the slightest occasion of discontent, or rather on the first caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in such a manner as to satisfy equally such opposite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to stifle these seeds of division: he was desirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at least of protracting it, till he should be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs.

There is no maze so intricate as was the disintangling those interests which divided the different parties that composed the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the smallest part. The catholics, besides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchase their personal services at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this satisfaction they would not bring affairs to a general conclusion. The interests of the French Calvinists were not entirely the same with those of the foreign protestants. There were certain times when the English, who alone were united, murmured amongst themselves, that, in all the dangers they were exposed to, they were actuated by a principle

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principle of generosity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themselves as madmen, who sacrificed their lives purely to gratify the passions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occasion, when they absolutely refused to engage beyond the Seine, seeing neither any security or resource for them in a country at such a distance from the sea. To exasperate them more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the catholics seized those moments of discontent to persuade them, that the king's abjuration was become absolutely necessary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who were paid for their services, D'O, and these same catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently: this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; swearing, that, if it was not instantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a proposal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever. In order to assist the king to subdue those scruples which the making such an extraordinary gift might raise in his mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they said, in a situation less pressing, had given up to them the * fove-

* By the treaty which was passed during the imprisonment of this prince at Madrid, the 25th of February 1526, Francis I. resigned his claim there likewise to the ditches of Burgundy and Milan, to

1592. reignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns* than were contained in both those provinces. The king had sufficient reason to believe that so unseasonable a negotiation was a piece of Spanish artifice, in the taste of Hagemau, which tended only to create more confusion, and render him suspected both by the protestants and catholics: but, although this proposition had been really sincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely stronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain and the house of Austria.

At last even the league, for some view or other, entered into the resolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroi, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to guess the true cause of this step: whether disgust at the pride and insolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new supplies, or a design to alienate the protestants from the king. The only evidence of the sincerity of this proposition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I shall soon have occasion to enlarge upon this subject.

One of the least consequences of this chaos of views and interests was the spreading over every affair an impenetrable obscurity, and creating in every mind jealousy and distrust. It is indeed surprising, that after this the protestants and catholics could live together in the same camp, without exposing the king to the grief of seeing them mutiny, or of cutting each other's throats. Those

the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the states of the kingdom assembled at Cognac.

* By the treaty of Château-Cambresis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Catelet and St. Quentin, France yielded to

Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified places. The constable Montmorency's jealousy of the duke of Guise, and his eagerness to be freed from his confinement, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

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who in a prince sought for what is termed policy, might here find sufficient room to praise the prudence of a king who kept so many jarring interests united, and to admire his discernment in distinguishing those who acted with fidelity towards him; nor ought it to pass unobserved, that so many secret and various designs left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falshood assumed the semblance of truth, and enmity concealed itself under the disguise of friendship. Those who pretended the greatest affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own interest.

It would be useless to dissemble, that the marshal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refused the government of Rouen, or desire of protracting the war*, or a disposition that took pleasure in creating discord and confusion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the sole pleasure of contradicting, or because he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the question that has occasioned this digression was debated, he was neither for pursuing the enemy, nor for staying in Normandy: he thought it was necessary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to pass in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the protestants, who were devoted to the will of this marshal.

The king saw plainly, that all endeavours to retain such discontented troops in his service would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a siege so long and fatiguing as that of

* “What then, rascal! wouldst thou send us to plant cabbages to his son, who proposed to him an expedient to finish the war at one blow. Prefix, part ii, ibid.

1592. Rouen made the soldiers extremely desirous of rest. The king was resolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince should always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he is constrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they should return home, and gave them permission to do so. He distributed all the money he had amongst them, leaving himself without any to supply his necessary expences: and though they were not wholly satisfied in this respect, yet they had reason to be pleased with the noble manner in which he praised and thanked them for their services. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reason to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither soon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as protestants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a necessity of not abandoning him with his protestants, which, after this permission, he foresaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would set forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet shewn himself in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it necessary to make himself known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affections of the people towards him. A secret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this resolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakness, drew from thence his best reason.

* His passion for mademoiselle D'Estrées. He sometimes stole away from his army to go and see her. He once disguised himself like a countryman, passed through

the midst of the enemy's guards, and came to her house, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK V.

1592.

WHILE the king with a few protestants pursued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma hastened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little satisfied with his campaign, discontented to the last degree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable.

It is in general, and particular histories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, must be sought for. The attack of St. Dennis*, where the chevalier D'Aumale lost his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorraine; the defeat of the sieur D'Amblise, with the duke of Bouillon's† other exploits, either before or after his

* Claude de Lorraine, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, having surprised this city at the head of a body of troops in the service of the league, De Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier D'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the same day that his nup-

tials was celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblise, general of the troops of Lorraine, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorraine, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and D'Amblise was slain,

marriage;

1592. marriage; the loss of the battle of Craon*; the defeat of the sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negotiations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewise be found there. I have, in another place, excused my silence on these heads, and the liberty I allow myself of relating only the most important facts; among which are those that regard the count of Soissons, and the duke of Epemon; and even these the narration I have just made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

The count of Soissons†, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, still retained hopes of marrying the princess, his sister, of whose affections he always remained master. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had last attached himself, he was left in the king's army, whom he served without affection, and only till he had resolved upon some new project, or till some opportunity favourable to his passion presented itself. He thought he found one in the siege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leisure to employ himself in other affairs. He pre-

* This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then besieged by the royalist troops; they were composed of French, English, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpensier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the duke of Morcœur at the head of the Spanish troops, and those of the league. About the same time, George de Villequier, viscount de la Guerche, attempting to pass the Vienne, a

river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a small body of troops of the league, and himself drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the several skirmishes before this city, in D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. II. For all these expeditions consult likewise the historians above cited.

† Charles of Bourbon, son of Lewis the first, prince of Condé, (slain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

tended to take a journey to Nogent, and, stealing away from the camp, went secretly, and with the utmost expedition, to Bearn, in order to accomplish his marriage there, unknown to Henry. But he was one of those persons, whose most inconsiderable actions were strictly observed by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's designs, sent such orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princess Catherine indeed in the most favourable dispositions towards him, and some say that she had herself press'd him to come thither; but it was quite otherwise with the council, to which the king, in his absence, had committed the care of the province. The sieur de Pangeas *, who was at the head of this council, opposed him boldly, shewed him the orders he had received from the king, raised the country upon him, and obliged him at last to return to France, with the disgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a staircase one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoise.

By these strokes the count of Soissons's character may be easily understood; to finish the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundless ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a step forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new measures, which threw him at so much the greater distance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himself knew not the object his wishes aimed at; restless, uneasy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to those of the king; he resembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of

* — de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

1592.  Soissons to a mind naturally reserved, and incapable of a wise foresight, added an affected moderation and despicable cunning. He endeavoured to impose upon the world an assumed seriousness for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and mistook the frozen countenance which false gravity wears for respect. Pomp, and the ostentation of grandeur was his taste: in a word, ambition had taken absolute possession of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the source of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never surmount.

As for the duke of Epéron *, ambition was not his predominant passion; he was likewise actuated by an unconquerable pride; an insolence, or

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epéron, colonel general of France, governor of Guienne, Metz, and the county of Meffin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life observes, he was the oldest duke and peer of France, the oldest officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counsellor of state, and almost the oldest man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, because of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's household. There is recorded an excellent answer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epéron, says his historian, without being surprized at the king's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the kingdom: I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to you; but,

"Sire, as for friendship, your majesty well knows that is only "to be acquired by friendship." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and speeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into esteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epéron, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too disadvantageous; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says: all the historians agree with him in charging the duke of Epéron with a boundless ambition, and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the cardinal d'Osset. As for his extraction, "Patrem," says Busbeq, *habuit bello egregium, avum tabellionem fide notarium.*" Epist. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaissette, he descended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Consult likewise our genealogists.

rather

rather a natural ferocity, which shewed itself in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he used only one, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by a harsh disposition, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself superior to friendship and rewards. He hated the king, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an insolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of his character.

Epernon, finding that his enterprizes had not the success his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, though but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom he might have occasion for; but even his kindnesses, if that phrase may be allowed when speaking of him, had a sort of spleen and contempt in them: so that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one served him from any other motive than fear, which was the cause that with great dispositions for war, and in a situation which might have made them useful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette * his brother. These provinces, whose governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother of their three last kings, despised him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) sent them

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral son of Henry II. and of ——— Li-
of France. vingston, a Scots lady.

† Henry, count d'Angouleme,

1592. La Valette in his stead, who made himself beloved in Provence, and served the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehensive of him himself; he disgraced Epèrnon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arrest at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occasion, lost his government; but all was restored to them after the murder of the duke of Guise, which laid Henry III. under the necessity of strengthening himself with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epèrnon, whose vanity would not suffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoise, notwithstanding all the instances he made him by messieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condescended himself to intreat him. To oppose a king was a circumstance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the first amongst the nobility to sign the king of Navarre's exclusion from the crown. It will not be rash to judge, by Epèrnon, of the sincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then usual to cover a design of restraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epèrnon's history will give a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the south of France. He there experienced great reverses of fortune: the two brothers assisting each other mutually, were often worsted, and could not prevent three or four considerable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which opposed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themselves independent. The duke of Savoy*, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

became very powerful, after the king of Spain had 1592. permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his son-in-law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable rival, who stopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lefdiguieres*, remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the king might long have occasion for his assistance; and never come into this province. Messieurs de Montmorency, and D'Ornano† gave great strength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuse‡, the counts of Sault, and the count of Carces, with the sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengo, and many others, raised tumults there, and filled these countries with divisions and slaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itself beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to support himself longer in Dauphiné, when he was slain at the siege of a little inconsiderable town. The duke of Epemon immediately invaded this government: for form's sake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durst not refuse them to him; but, instead of quelling all these different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reason to depend as any of the others. One may judge

* Francis de Bonne, duke of Lefdiguieres, constable of France.

† Alphonso D'Ornano, colonel of the Corsicans.

‡ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuse after the death of his bro-

thers. Christiana D'Aguerre, counts of Sault, barons of Vienne. Gaspard de Pontevéz, count of Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins. Charles de Casaux, &c. & Roquebrun in Provence.

1592. of this, by what passed at the siege of Villemur*, the only action which I shall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can answer for.

The duke of Joyeuse, a zealous partizan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or six thousand foot, and eight or nine hundred horse, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exercising all the cruelties usual in those miserable times, came and laid siege to Villemur.

The sieur D'Ariat, after whom I relate these circumstances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourse to Thémynes†, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful supplies to their assistance. Thémynes, knowing he was not strong enough, addressed himself to the duke of Epemon, and while he waited for the reinforcement the duke promised to give him, sent a detachment of small bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, because their horses could be of use to them, the city was so closely environed. Joyeuse was severely punished for the error he was guilty of there, as we shall see presently. This error was the attacking the town itself, instead of beginning with the castle, which, altho' much stronger in appearance, was in reality the weakest. Without doubt he was not sufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a design to make use of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full.

Epemon sent indeed a considerable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act

* A city of Languedoc.

† Pons de Lausiere de Cardaillac, afterwards marechal of France.

but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding 1592.
 much in fighting, these troops, although great ex-
 pectations were raised by them, minded nothing
 but recreation, abandoned their posts, and by their
 bad example did more harm than good to the
 other royalist foldiers. Joyeuse, who did not want
 courage, especially when he was to act in-person,
 finding the occasion favourable, and perhaps doubt-
 ful of the duke of Epernon's designs, fell upon his
 foldiers, surprized them, and would have made a
 great slaughter, if Thémînes had not run thither
 time enough to save the remainder; he could not,
 however, prevent seven or eight hundred from being
 slain. There needed no more to make Epernon *
 recal them absolutely. Thémînes afterwards strong-
 ly solicited both him and the marechal de Matignon
 for assistance, but in vain; and all he could do was
 to throw himself into Villemur, with D'Ariat, two
 hundred and fifty arquebusiers, and about a hun-
 dred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to support
 the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigo-
 rously than before. He obliged Reiner, who was
 lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to per-
 form the duties of a governor upon this occasion,
 to go out, and resolved to defend himself there till
 the last extremity, being assured that the king,
 whom he acquainted with his situation, would not
 suffer him to perish.

In effect, this prince wrote instantly to the dukes
 de Montmorency, and d'Epernon, to send him
 supplies. Epernon, accustomed to disobey, gave
 no attention to this order; but Montmorency sent
 him Lecques † and Chambaut, with some brave

* All this is so positive, that it may balance the authority of De Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his foldiers drove those be-
 longing to the league from Ville-

mur, and put this place into a state of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, Book iv. p. 63, as likewise the Memoirs of the league, Vol. V.

† Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

1592. protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouse: Lecques and Chambaut, therefore, had recourse to Messillac *, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity, as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebusiers, and two hundred and eighty horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and solicitous only to accomplish their first intention. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with some difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the sieurs D'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the first signal which should be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messillac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they caused to dismount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the entrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first intrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being informed of the designed attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither four hundred men more, and at the same time made the cannon fire three times, which was the signal agreed upon with

* Raimont de Messillac de Restignac.

his cavalry. It happened, that either through 1592.
slackness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on
that of the protestants, this cavalry did not come
up till after the action was begun. Our men ad-
vanced before sun-rise, and falling upon the first
intrenchment, laid a hundred of those who defend-
ed it dead upon the ground; the rest fled towards
the second entrenchment, and carrying thither only
their fears, this, tho' much better than the first,
was likewise stormed with considerable loss.

Thémines beholding all within the walls, se-
conded the assailants, and made so seasonable a
sally, that he completed the rout of the besiegers.
Their cavalry shewed themselves that moment at
the head of the camp; but instead of putting a
stop to this confusion, they no sooner perceived
the eight hundred men, which composed the body
of reserve, with three hundred horse pushing against
them, than they followed the example of the rest
of the army, and sought for safety in flight. Their
terror increasing every moment, it soon became a
general rout, which it was not in the power of
Joyeuse to prevent. Dragged along himself with
the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and
ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the
Tarn. The number of those who hastened thither,
on this side, overcharging this bridge, it sunk
under Joyeuse, and he and all that were with him
were swallowed up in the river. Fear had so
blinded the rest of the troops, that still imagining
they saw a bridge where none now was, they
plunged into the waves where it had stood. More
than three thousand foot, and four hundred horse,
perished on this occasion, either by the sword or
the water. A prodigious loss for an army so in-
considerable, whereas the royalists lost only thirty
men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this as-
tonishing spectacle from the top of their walls, with
a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which
made them compare an effect of fear, which had

1592. the appearance of a miracle, with that which the sacred history relates of the Egyptians at the passage of the Red-sea. But to return to the king.

This prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, sent the marechal de Biron to besiege Epernai *. The siege was long and obstinate; Biron was slain there by a cannon ball †. And if the king, who during that time staid at Compeigne, had not resolved to shew himself before this city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated some powerful succours which were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at last to surrender.

His funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to disband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued some time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was spread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France to execute the great projects he had formed against the king. The death of this brave general ‡ happened very fortunately for Henry, who saw himself not in a condition to oppose such an enemy. The Spanish army, having lost its leader, dispersed. The time that was taken up in appointing his successor, gave the king leisure to breathe again; he

* In Champagne.

† Which took off his head. He was almost as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loss we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in seven battles, and every wound he received in these battles made a scar. He was god-father to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant. Vol. III.

‡ At Arras in the abbey of St. Vaast. The Spaniards were accused of having poisoned him through jealousy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year

before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cause of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in De Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horse, caparisoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poisoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe D'Aubigné, who assures us that the Italians were so fully persuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 28. And this also is the opinion of Bongars, Book xlix.

drew

drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards' removal. 1592.

I did not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a disposition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the same day that the prince of Parma*, with his army, passed through Houdan.

To confess the truth, the king's politics were not to my taste. I saw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the necessity of complying with every desire of the catholics, while the protestants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their assistance was of no consideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealousy, from whence I concluded, that I should never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewise disgusted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldness, though I knew it to be feigned, had such an appearance of a total estrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my estate, there to live far from business, and the tumult of life.

The event justified the king's prudence, and I was the first to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very opposite to my former sentiments; but then I saw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the protestants and myself had endured; the little consideration I appeared

* This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not pass the Seine till the night of the 21st or 22d of that month. Here then is a mistake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271st page, the duke of Sully's marriage is observed to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Rosny's second wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleste. She was first married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She survived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

1592.


to be then of, and somewhat of that general disposition of mind which always dictated the interest of religion, formed all my resolutions, and were the foundation of that system I built for the king, and which at that time seemed to me to be the only reasonable one. I would have had this prince, doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely in their arms. I was persuaded that after such an open declaration, of his dependence upon the protestants, England, Holland, and all the protestant powers in Europe, would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would soon, without any assistance from the catholics, seat him upon the throne.

In this, as in every thing else, the king's understanding was superior to mine. He knew, from the first moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even possible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince sought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occasion, he should be obliged to bestow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My last motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Rosny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal consequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there some time: after a life so tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I tasted, with higher relish, the sweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amused myself there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been exposed for the space of twenty years.

Buhy,

Buhy *, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his assistance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others did. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me; and, lastly, the post of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the king had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was added by himself; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him my confidant. "His disposition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be present on such occasions as are now approaching. Although he excuses himself on account of his wounds, I know well what detains him; he is offended with me, and not without reason. He would play the philosopher for the future; but when I see him, I shall be able to make all up again; for I know him thoroughly."

This conversation passed in the presence of the president Seguier †, who dined with me some time

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du Plessis Mornay.

† John Seguier.

1592. after, and related it to me. Having freely disclosed my most secret thoughts to this great magistrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honest man, and an excellent politician, he answered me in these words, which I shall never forget, because they first opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. “ Sir, you appear to me to be touched
 “ with resentment. We live in a time when tranquility is very difficult to procure. The wisest
 “ amongst us are silent, and patient, in hopes of
 “ more favourable days; and the king is so prudent, and so virtuous, that God has no doubt
 “ reserved our restoration for him.”

From that moment, finding no other inconvenience from my wound, than a little difficulty in speaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horse, I made excursions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to resume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engross me. In the second of these journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Goussainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they saw us, struck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and seized two of them, who had not quitted the great road. These were peasants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to sell their poultry. I asked them some questions, and they answered me very ingenuously; they told me, that it was their custom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were exposed to in those roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten persons in their company, among whom they said were three domestics belonging to messieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me pursue these three men, whose mysterious journey excited my curiosity.

curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning those three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. This acquisition consoled me for the messengers escape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be such as I wished: in the first I found commissions from the duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongst which I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands which the president Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the arch-duke Ernest for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which this is an extract.

The duke of Maïenne submitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, president of the parliament of Dijon.

regarded

1592. regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, That the king of Spain should furnish, and maintain in the service of the league, an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; in which army there should be two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maienne was to have the sole disposal, besides four thousand foot more, and five hundred horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required: That the duke of Maienne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the pension which Spain alread paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thousand livres a month, to sixty, besides a hundred thousand crowns, which he should receive immediately, and a hundred thousand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they should begin, by putting him in actual possession of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maienne should be continued in the government of the state, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he should yield up the city of Soissons to the Spaniards, because it was at present the only place of security he had for himself in France: That if he found insurmountable obstacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invasion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maienne, the king of Spain should make the duke amends, by an annual pension of three hundred thousand livres, for the possessions he might lose

in France; which pension should never be lessened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain should cancel all the duke of Maienne's debts, or those of the king elected with the consent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they should give suitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; these were not expressed, either because the duke of Maienne was less solicitous about the interests of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be easily settled, because, if money was wanting, the lords might be satisfied with pensions, dignities, or governments. 1592.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have seen, he did not forget himself. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (besides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be designed for a prince of the house of Austria, since the duke of Maienne seemed to exclude himself) he offered, I say, a certain number of towns, for whose names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; those that Spain might take being to be restored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke of Maienne. All was calculated for the security and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves also, that they thought this election would sufficiently indemnify this crown; at least that they wanted, by this insinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual assistance from it. What gave rise to this suspicion was, their care in insisting upon, and often resuming, the following clause: That till all these articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the space of a month, Spain should first begin by sending a powerful supply into Burgundy, which they said was in great danger.

1592. danger. The more to hasten the resolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty shewed himself to be a faithful servant (although a little interested) of the house of Austria, protested coldly, that if these conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, she might turn to whatever side she pleased, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wished for nothing more than to be eased of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not so easily change, and who understood their interest still better. To this memorial the arch-duke answered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his Majesty was well pleased with the title of Defender of the League, and would look upon himself as chief of the party: That they should find him always ready to grant them whatever supplies they demanded against the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to send into Picardy alone the nineteen thousand men formerly mentioned; it is easy to see with what design, this province bounding the Low Countries; besides those which he offered to send into different parts of the kingdom. He did not seem to be so much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably because the council of Spain discovered that this general, who had demanded the possession of the province, would be glad that the troops should be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raise a thousand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horse. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned against this province, his catholic majesty would not refuse to send a considerable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majesty appeared much less liberal. Of all the articles this was the most reduced: he would
make

make no addition to the pension of thirty thousand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in person in the army, two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was silent. With regard to those places which might be seized, Spain consented that the duke of Maienne should keep what he had taken, provided she was allowed to do the same: she would not relinquish her demand of Soissons, and was absolutely resolved to have this city for a security for those advances she made in this war; she promised only to resign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared still uncertain to Spain, who gave them to understand, that if she was satisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand she would risk nothing. For this purpose, all the other articles were left unanswered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maienne should remove certain persons from about him, who, doubtless, did not support the interests of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was said, that they had been signified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majesty's dispositions, who by attending only to his own interests, and resolving to sell his assistance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maienne's example.

The reading of these papers left no room any longer for resentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I hastened immediately to Compiègne. I found time and absence had not altered his sentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private conversation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occasion of my journey. The examination of these papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there shut up with him. After his majesty had sent

1592. for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greatest part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was composed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whispers, and had been formed even in the court, and supported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé du Perron; all of them dependants of the count of Soissons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the last. In all appearance, these persons were the authors, and at first the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by messieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroi, D'O, and the rest of those catholics who were in the court, who valued themselves upon being too good Frenchmen to suffer the Spanish dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to consent to have a protestant king. The count of Soissons some time after joined these gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconsistent to his former mistress, he was several times upon the point of marrying mademoiselle de Longueville. They had assumed the name of politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to shew that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maienne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or poison †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, and, not to

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevy, physician; and Charles Duret, counsellor of state, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and president of the chamber of accounts.

† This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to assert without giving likewise a proof.

‡ His name was Charles; he was the third son of Lewis I. prince of

disoblige Spain entirely, procure a dispensation for him to marry the infanta. 1592.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprize, that papers which contained such opposite schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of providence, which by presenting the king, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to suggest to him such measures as were necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of those persons who correspond together, and some from a great distance, such as the duke of Mercœur*, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered them up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In such a confusion of sentiments, it is not surprising, that he should by the same means meet with such opposite schemes.

I continued three days at Compiègne, in which time I had several conferences with the king, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct would have suppressed such thoughts. He sent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to speak in these conversations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being resolved, he said, to re-

Condé, and Eleanora de Roy. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Con-

ty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

* Philip Emanuel of Lorraine.

1592.

gulate his behaviour in so difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He stayed no longer in Picardy than was necessary to make some proper dispositions there, and set out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, because by its situation it was best fitted to discover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to succeed to the operations of war. His council was already there, and he caused the princess, his sister, to be conducted thither also. After the discovery this prince had just made of the plots that were laid against his life, it would have been the greatest imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions necessary for his security. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the suburb of Mante, a body of English troops, whose affection to him was unquestionable, and resolved to hold all the world suspected, since he was convinced that those persons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleasures, were capable of forming the most violent resolutions against him.

If of all the favours that a prince (as estimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatness of his actions) could grant, esteem and tenderness are those which have most effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that interest could suggest to subjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reserve and distrust. Nor can I forbear to add (for why should I omit a circumstance which of all others seems most likely to procure me the esteem of truly virtuous persons?) that in a conjuncture so delicate, this prince was resolved to resign himself wholly to my direction, and to me confide his destiny

destiny and crown *, for without me he undertook not the smallest affair, persuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a sincere attachment to him, and (if I may use the expression) a true friendship, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me so pure and noble a delight as the honour of such a distinction : but after having resigned myself up to it some moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidst my joy, lest my weakness and incapacity should engage me in some false step that might prejudice, not me, for on those occasions self, I believe, is least in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

1592.

* If we may believe De Thou, Gaspard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, secretary of state, and himself, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his resolution of changing his religion. There is not a historian who ascribes it to any one particular person ; they do not even seem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is asserted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in some manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Augustus, after having deprived one of his chief ministers entirely of his favour, permitted him still to have the appearance of enjoying it : with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in absolute possession of his master's favour, while no one suspected it. And that which is most remarkable in their history is, that a long time after this minister's favour with the king was known, by his being in possession of the first employments in the kingdom, even until his master's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmost circumspection ; while in private, never were familiarity and con-

fidence carried farther between a king and his subject. Hence it was, that in some histories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the secrets of the cabinet, contented themselves with representing only the public face of affairs, the name of Rosny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, so well known to writers better informed, very seldom, considering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve last years of this prince's life. Incomprehensible as this reserved and mysterious conduct appears, those who reflect upon the situation of affairs in those times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the necessity the king and his minister were under, to observe this conduct, and never to part from it. Nor is this one of the least instances of the prudence and abilities of these two great men. I thought it necessary to make this observation once for all. "Rosny," says Matthieu the historian, Vol. II. p. 278. "had a long time a share in the king's most important affairs ; and from the time of Henry III. was one of his most intimate confidants," &c.

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From this moment, all those precautions the king made use of for the safety of his person, I also observed in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myself for it by the most serious reflections on the state of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I considered, that if in such employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deserving some reproaches, we draw those reproaches upon ourselves when we act according to the dictates of passion. This reflection led me to study carefully my own disposition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the necessity of beginning with obliging my own heart to subdue and forget itself. A serious review of my past conduct shewed me the injustice of those complaints which I suffered frequently to escape me against the king's behaviour to me and the rest of the protestants. I searched into the ground of it, and I soon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one professes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to pass for nothing, provided one can secure the success of it. I suppressed these sentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes use of such unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more distrusted than those snares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I shall be easily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myself, I the less feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different interests, and into future events, which offered, on every side, nothing but frightful precipices. Must the miseries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almost equal? Must a prince, who so well deserved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidst the horrors
of

of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determin'd upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of protestants in France, who sought only justice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the snares of their most cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the lustre of her monarchy, and the succession of her kings? What miseries to be expected by a war? what snares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all sides? Was it possible to take any resolution, when alarmed by so many almost inevitable evils?

But the greatest danger was the not fixing upon any resolution at all. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seem'd necessary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, restore tranquility to France, submit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that resolution which might the most effectually remove the present inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for those which were to be apprehended. In one word, I resolv'd to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion, and to persuade him to it by degrees. I was sensible, that by this means I should give disgust to two sorts of persons, the protestant neighbours of France, and the French calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance; and it was easy to give the second such advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to

1592. both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for persons to whom he owed such powerful obligations.

These reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiègne, and I was still absorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The first thing he did, was to send for me to come to him with the usual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who on his side had made a thousand reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it; irreconcilable interest in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongst themselves, and rage against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to these evils.

I replied that, without taking upon me to give his majesty advice, I saw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was to satisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the state; the second was not to make concessions to any, but to endeavour to wrestle vigorously with them all; the third, which held a medium between these two, was to take away all obstacles that opposed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had said to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly, what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had proposed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him
perceive,

perceive, that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the rapaciousness of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would scarce out of so great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he should give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was silent, only telling the king, that being a protestant myself, I could say nothing upon this subject.

While I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the present conjuncture had thrown the king, to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all these difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of king, a subject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those who were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as Messieurs De Epernon, De Nevers, De Longueville, De Biron, D'O, De Rieux *, De Villeroy, De

* René De Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John D'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendent. Lewis de L'Hopital, lord de Vitry.

Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues. Francis D'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauneuf, lord of Châteauneuf.

1592. Manou, De Châteauevieux, De Vitry, D'Entragues, and De Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and La Tremouille, and the outcries of the protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them ill, nor declare war against them, for I shall always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in the opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him, that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and distinction in the calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to their persons and services. I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and

and the same notions of the divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a protestant, or from a protestant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion * itself, which policy suggested as the most proper means to compose all differences: But although my opinion should be erroneous, yet this must be allowed to be an incontestible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others; on the contrary, that God perhaps disposed the king to this change, to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itself: That the difference of religions had long produced the most tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual source of disorders and calamities, by the aversion with which it inspired people against those of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the case with the protestants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting those who professed these different religions in the bands of christian charity and love; or, if this was impossible, prescribe to them rules so just, as might make both parties be contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be

* Add to these words of the duke of Sully what he says some pages before, and what has been observed a little higher, where he speaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined that he was a calvinist without rigour, and considered all religions as indifferent which agreed in essentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, speaks of it, and it is even the chief of those arguments which he makes use of to justify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV. such advice, as, without this,

would agree but ill with the laws of conscience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion, says he, speaking of the duke of Sully, that the king might as easily work out his salvation in our religion as in his own, he offered no great violence to his conscience, in persuading him to this change; on the contrary, it was effectually serving the state, nay, christianity itself, without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his minister, as he himself confessed very sincerely,

1592. influenced by that single thought of immortalizing his memory, by restoring peace, plenty, and security, to a kingdom wasted with intestine divisions, and of meriting, by the use of those abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happiness to France, after she had begun to despair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more interesting than that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confess, that his spirits, after being exhausted, if I may use that term, with war, demanded a situation less turbulent, and more tranquil.

The strongest proof of the reasonableness and justice of the arguments I used upon this occasion, was, that the king, who possessed that happy sagacity of distinguishing immediately the truth or falsehood of any position, confessed to me that my discourse had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, still resisted strangely, but that he believed he should follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days he had taken his resolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of these regarded his own opinion; for as sincerity and rectitude were fixed in his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am persuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly despised, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

The other difficulties related to the leaders of the protestant party, whom the bare proposition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He assembled them, and addressing himself to the most distinguished amongst them, which were Messieurs de Bouillon, De Sancy, Du Pleffis, De Salignac,

Salignac, De Morlas, De Constans, and Salettes* ; 1592. I also being present. He told them (with an intention to sound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He said he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics against him; that the time which the catholics had so often threatned him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common design being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all possible methods to rid themselves of his person. That the cardinal, indeed, had expressed great reluctance to comply with this last proposition, but, by all appearances, they would soon gain his consent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be secured to him. He conjured them to tell him sincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occasion, especially upon the desertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the last extremity.

By the noise and confusion this declaration raised in the assembly, it would seem that all those who composed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their designs prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preserving any sincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and

* — Salettes was president of the parliament of Pau, and counsellor of state at Navarre. Morlas, his natural son, was member of the privy-council, counsellor of state, and superintendent of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, said, "I have lost one of the wisest men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. Book vii. p. 545.

1592.  profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any resolution fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said, that there was nothing to be done but to resume their arms, and risque all at one cast. Another was of opinion, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without advising how. I took this hint, and by annexing to it some reasonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. They were not ignorant that I had some influence over the count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no person in the world for whom he had so strong an inclination as me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the king's enemies; and the better to ensure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counsellors, especially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidants to the count of Soissons, and a lady called madam des Rosieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No person opposed this advice, doubtless because the protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible that they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I

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knew that jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief part in all affairs, I should bring him to my purpose. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour so generously opposed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the king, which his majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought: so that he might expect the most convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or, at least, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very shortly. 1592.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them more resolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell severely upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel that zeal for the king's service, which I affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he would oppose the violent resolutions of the catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation

1592.

testation to me, he made one quite contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the conversation he had just held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increase of favour it procured him, I, on my side, perhaps, made better use of it for the king, than if he had kept the secret: besides finding means from thence to inform these gentlemen of the king's disposition to embrace their religion, which drew them secretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's imprudence produced likewise another good consequence, which was the inspiring them with a desire of supplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third good consequence from it, with regard to the Durets.

These gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new secrets he had disclosed to his patrons, and the increase of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propositions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, because he had carried it so far as to give umbrage to the protestants) would have no commerce for the future with a man so little to be depended on, and was disposed to make use of them in the measures he would shortly take: I confided some papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the scheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the answer in consequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I shewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying stroke for them; they thought themselves despised, and the project so reasonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a conclusion without their participation; which to these sort of men seems the greatest of all misfortunes. They hesi-
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tated not a moment in offering me earnestly their services for the king. The change of religion, which I had also insinuated to them, seemed to remove all the opposition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a scheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had proposed to Spain; or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had just gained over them. In effect, they kept the secret better, and laboured in it to more purpose.

I applied myself afterwards to the abbé Du Perron*, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he aimed at making him either take or change a resolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received some favours from me. I concerted my discourse beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great sentiments, and deep reasoning, had powerful charms†; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was present at this conversation, when after having slid into my discourse some mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du Perron, that except Spain and some turbulent persons in France, it was the interest and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre should ascend the throne, and possess the kingdom in the same extent, and with the same power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predecessors.

* James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards bishop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

† The duke of Sully's character

of the cardinal Du-Perron seems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joseph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutuleius* or *locutus lewis*.

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I began with the pope. I told Du Perron, that he who had so perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other person, that Clement VIII. now in possession of the holy see, was neither so violent as Sixtus V. nor so mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope considered the present affairs of Europe and christianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the necessary balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to subject France to Spain, because he was not ignorant of any of the views of this last power for universal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his interest as common father of the catholics, but also his temporal interests in particular, because Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would soon follow the destiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of seeing himself one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That besides, his Holiness had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as soon as he should express his desire to be received there, without troubling himself about that mighty phrase a relapse, with which fools only were affected.

There was still less difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my proposition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to resume the conversation upon Spain. I asked the abbé Du Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that those deep politicians who gave rise to all the disorders in France, began to despair of the success of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the protestants in his interest, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever seriously intend to make a Spanish province of France, and flatter himself that his domination would be endured by a people,

who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare suspicion. 1592.

By the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maienne, Guise, and Mercœur, sought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he saw make use of his troops and money without shewing any greater respect for him. One convincing proof that these were the real sentiments of Philip was, the propositions he had made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mondoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis. For, in reality, this prince seeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongst the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the greediness of the league had thrown him. And although the king should be able to maintain the war but a short time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recal the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

Observing that Du Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign slavery, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependants upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensionaries of a king, who al-
though

1592. though he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other person, suffered him to hope for no reward of his services till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by seeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profession of the protestant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapse, as well as the design of chusing a king from amongst themselves, the marriage of the infanta, and all the rest of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I said, I produced the treaty which the league had proposed to Henry by Villeroy and Jeannin, soon after the raising of the siege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but shall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning suddenly towards Du Perron, I asked him if he was not of the interest of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the first himself to prevent such designs from being effected; whether the good of the state required, that by destroying in a moment an edifice which had cost the kings of France such labour to raise, and which some of them had cemented with their blood, France should be again filled with those little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the first enemies that attacked them? And lastly, if he did not confess that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the most glorious and most advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I cut short my discourse upon this third party of politicians, by observing to Du Perron, that one of these two things must necessarily happen, either that they would unite themselves to the league, and so deprive it of all assistance from Spain; or
take

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take measures separately from it, which would produce the necessity of destroying, or being destroyed by it. In any of these cases, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himself, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confess, that this prince was absolutely fitted to reign over the French. I represented to him, that his reputation was so well established every where, that the league had great reason to fear, and the third party (whose interest and credit were but very small) still more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himself up so blindly to the caprice of the league as in Paris, they would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of rest so natural to those who have suffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to discover their discontent openly; but without that could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the protestants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? They had seen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquillity, and of raising her to a new degree of splendor.

The abbé Du Perron had no reply to make to these arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the persuasive charms of elo-

1592. quence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wished.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the king with the scheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for king. This piece is curious enough to deserve an abstract should be given of it. The true spirit of the league discovered itself there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition. They required that in the space of three months he should make a public profession of the catholic religion; that he should restore it in all those places from whence the superiority of the reformed had banished it; that he should break off all alliance with them; that they should have no share in the dignities, embassies, and employments of state of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France should be tolerated only, and for a certain time.

Many other articles seemed to be inserted there only to persuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the service of religion and the state in view. Such were the clauses of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the states from six to six years; and many others.

These were all specious conditions, but they added (which was the most essential point for the authors of the project) That the king should acknowledge, authorise, and support the league with all his power: That he should leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garrison into them; the meaning of which was, that he should reign under them: That he should distribute all the governments of France amongst
such

such of his principal officers as they should name to him : That he should keep a sufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there : That he should not dispose of the taxes, imposts, and other revenues of the crown ; but they should be all applied to this use, according to a division proportioned to the quality and occasions of those governments : That all the garrisons which should be put in the fortresses of the kingdom should be paid in the same manner. The distribution of these governments was as follows : Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuse, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to D'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Isle of France to the baron of Rosne, Orleanois and Berry to La Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champagne to the duke of Guise, with the post of high steward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed. 1592.

The duke of Maïenne had, with reason, the largest share. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added those of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois ; and in all these provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the shadow of any authority : the right of disposing, as he pleased, of governments, lord-lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but also in the finances, and courts of judicature ; and what was still more, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices : and to all these extraordinary advantages, they added the post of constable, or lieutenant general of the crown. It was this only that seemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewise kept in reserve four marechals batons *, and the

* These four marechals batons to Rosne, La Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom

1592. league, at their own leisure, were to name the persons on whom they were to be bestowed; besides very considerable pensions to the most distinguished amongst them, they carried their violence so far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of some considerable persons of their party whom they should name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with absolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he should allow the league to chuse the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for its execution. The pope's name only was expressed; doubtless, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongst the rest. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing else than such a scheme when he said, that he had been falsely accused of hating a king of France, since instead of one he wished there had been twenty.

No person believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions so injurious to this prince, could persuade themselves that he would submit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refusal give disgust to the dregs of the people. The king likewise, far from treating these proposals as a serious matter, or answering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it possible to have come to any accommodation, sacrificed them immediately to the protestants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deserved; it even turned the catholics against the author; for these catholics finding that all there was badly designed; that it was full of articles which, being only snares, would prove an inexhaustable source of difficulties; and that there were some which it was impossible to

will be mentioned hereafter. On this occasion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, said he one day to the duke of Maienne, you have made bastards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

execute, they took no notice of what made the strongest impression upon them, which was, that by the distribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

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The king making no other use of these proposals than to bind those who served him more closely to his interests, gave a very short and cool answer to the president Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no necessity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, especially those wherein religion has a share, give a freedom and boldness which on any other occasions would be very surprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, answered in writing, which he addressed to the king himself, That he was greatly astonished at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well considered, he would find that he had not yet stipulated for sufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be disavowed, especially by the duke of Nemours, who, instead of a government, had already formed a principality for himself in Lionnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had still more reason to believe the duke of Maienne would be displeased at it, whose interests had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had shewn the king his readiness to serve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a security for the performance of his word (as if those which were to be bestowed upon the governors did not answer the same purpose:) That, to please the king, he had eluded the question, of making those governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had invested them with, would it be difficult for them to seize this also?

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Jeannin afterwards observed to the king, with great freedom, or rather an excess of insolence, that the catholics having with justice taken arms against him, he ought not make use of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, because they did not look upon themselves as enemies subdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the same reason, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his subjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely chose a king after the reasons for refusing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deserve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by absolutely rejecting all assistance from messieurs De Bouillon, Du Plessis, and the other protestants whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourse with them.

While the king deliberated upon what resolutions he should take, the States were held at Paris *. The hint of assembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it must be confessed, that by the methods he pursued there, in order to accomplish his designs, a resolution more dangerous for the king's cause need not have been taken. This general intended to have summoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make

* The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpose. All the speeches, acts, and ceremonies of this assembly, may be found in many of the historians, see particularly De

Thou, Book cv. Davila, B. xiii. Memoirs of the league, Vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, Vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, Vol. II. Matthieu, Vol. II. Chron. Novend. for the year 1593. B. v. Satyré Menipée, &c.

himself master of the deliberations within; while, with a superior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he persuaded himself that he should obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cause the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics *: quick dispatch, great liberality, a well-chosen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inspiring awe, these were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an issue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying just as he was upon the point of executing these projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, nor other necessary measures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who succeeded him, came at last with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the same submission was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of seeing the king abjure calvanism; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; besides, there was now an alteration in a circumstance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great consequence; this was, that instead of getting the states assembled at Rheims, the duke of Maienne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who were Don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria †, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptist de Taxis, to consent that they should be assembled at Paris. Each of these persons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their interests by their alliances, their intrigues, and their presents, they might practise a thousand artifices to engage all the suffrages for themselves: but when this

* See the duke of Parma's letter on this subject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. Book iv. fol. 5.

† Laurent. Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

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How would they be able to bring the pope into their measures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular design, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the dukes of Maine, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guise, in fine, the princes of the blood, who had also their different designs *, of which they were no less tenacious? All those factions, when the states were opened, reflecting that this was the last effort of the party, had recourse to a thousand stratagems which destroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themselves under false measures to bring others to the purpose they desired. To the great number of counsels already so perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no person knew where he was. No one declared his sentiments at first, but seemed to speak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real designs be guessed at.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their usual maxim, and the particular cast of their nation; or perhaps their design was

* "The league was of this advantage to France," says Le Grain, "that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

to sound the inclinations of the French, to discover ^{1593.} if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of losing what they had been so long aiming at, they at last made the most reasonable proposition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta * with the cardinal of Bourbon. All the French nobles, with the Guises at their head, waited only for this step of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common design, which was, to make use of this proposal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and consequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soissons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They suffered this proposition to be carried so far, as to have the articles drawn up and sent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a stop to it, which they did, with a design that may be easily penetrated into, in order that what these lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldest, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under subjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Ernest of Austria, the eldest of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of state impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain lost the crown of France, their not suffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unless the prince whom they destined for her husband was declared and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princess at Paris

would have removed all obstacles. According to De Thou, the duke of Guise's party was so powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maïenne, secretly opposed him, and the king of Navarre declared very seasonably his resolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guise," says father de Chalons, after Matthieu, History of France, Vol. III. p. 257. "was praised for the moderation he discovered on this occasion. He gave no indications of his having flattered himself with such agreeable hopes, nor shewed any solicitude for so great a fortune."

1593. own power, as the princes of the blood : by seeming to resign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, they had an oblique view towards themselves ; which shewed them, that after him the crown would more easily revert to them, than if a foreigner had first possessed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may easily imagine, never forgave them.

This common interest of the nobles, which united them against Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were persons. Each thought himself most worthy of the diadem. Jealousy and malice soon actuated the whole party to such a degree, that each disputed for the crown, for the sole pleasure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of these parties objected to one person only, and comforted himself for not being able to succeed in his own designs, if he could overthrow his. Of this class was the clergy, which, without naming any person for the throne, used only their utmost endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to supplant two, three, or more of the competitors : but there was not one from any of these motives who was capable of forming a party so much superior to the others, as to bear down all its opposers. The people, although generally the slaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occasion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the style of that sort of indifferent and neutral persons who are always to be found in public assemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere shew, and caused only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of falsehoods, could not last long ; in such sort of debates, the first resq-

resolutions, and the first motions, are suggested by the passions. If by a concurrence of causes they are prevented from succeeding, reason, though it slowly appears in tumultuous assemblies, yet forces itself at last to be seen and acknowledged, and after long opposition is followed through necessity. The first thing that was done on this occasion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different proposals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spanish king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlasting reproach to them, to suffer a law so fundamental as the hereditary right of succession to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the consequence, by granting an edict * which forbade the carrying the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whose mind had not suggested it to him, and who was not conscious of the injustice of acting contrary to it.

The claims of royal family began to appear sacred to a thousand persons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whose attempt was frustrated by this edict, might have still ward off the blow, had she united with the Lorrains, whom it equally struck at; but the more she thought she was entitled to depend upon their

* The edict was passed the 28th of June. "This action," says Villeroi, Vol. II. page 58, "was the more applauded by all good men, as the danger that attended it was so great; it was certainly of great use, and I must say, that the kingdom owed its safety to the courts." John Le Maître, altho' made president of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maienne, the president Edward Molé, the counsellors William DuVair, afterwards keeper of the seals, Stephen Fleury, Peter D'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict: in conse-

quence of it, the president Le Maître, with the counsellors De Fleury and D'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the president Le Maître silenced him with great authority and dignity. See Vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, Vol. II. p. 635.

1593. suffrages, the more irreconcilable was her enmity toward them, when she found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their constant misunderstanding insensibly paved the way for the victory of their common adversary.

To accomplish this, there remained but one step to be taken, which was prevented by the strong opposition of the clergy *. A stop therefore was put to the affair for some time: they resumed, as if for amusement, some of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raised to be soon and effectually extinguished; for there was not one person who did not tacitly confess, that if the king † abjured calvinism, all contest would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themselves to it, not slightly as before, but from a more clear and distinct view of the true interest of the state: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more opposition, but what some nobles for their personal interest were pleased to give to it.

The dukes of Maienne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the most difficult to be persuaded into these measures, as was most natural, considering that they, of all others, had flattered themselves with hopes of the greatest advantages: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a con-

* All the Memoirs of these times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Plesance legate, and of almost all the bishops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Débourbonnez-nous, Seigneur,*" was the explication a preacher gave of these words of scripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto facis.* There are an infinite number of such circumstances, the malignity of which cannot surely be excused by zeal for the true reli-

gion. De Thou observes, that the clergy was the only one of the three estates that persisted in voting for a war.

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never disputed, but also that in his person the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entituled, *Genealogical histories of all the sovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.*

ference with the king from being proposed, and passed by a plurality of voices in the states. It was, however, in their power to destroy or suspend the effect, and they did not fail to do so: for this purpose they used their utmost endeavours; they set their emissaries to work, took advantage of the king's * bad fortune at Selles, caused Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refusing to allow the cardinal de Gondy †, and the marquis de Pisany, whom the king had sent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holiness's territories. Could they flatter themselves, that the irregularity of these proceedings would not be commented upon, after having so often protested, that in all their actions they had only the interest of religion in view, and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit his erroneous opinions. No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April ‡, might have produced, it was thought the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having consented that no protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the king about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him justice, and the sweets of a

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* The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the necessity to which he reduced himself of raising the siege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very considerable faults.

† Peter de Gondy, bishop of Paris. John de Vivonne marquis of Pisany.

‡ In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, Vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroi's Mem. of state, Vol. IV.

Matthieu and Cayet, *ibid.* &c. The archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cause, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

truce,

1593. truce, which was the only benefit resulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states; and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the catholics more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wisdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the protestants, of which we have already seen that the result has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reason to fear that they would carry things to extremity against him, he knew how to appease them by some new military expedition, which he likewise engaged in, to convince the people still more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour, appeared so deserving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no less worthy of their obedience.

As soon as he was informed of the disunion that raged in the states, the confusion and opposition that every word gave rise to, he looked upon this assembly to be the happy means by which his designs

signs would be accomplished, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as soon as it was proposed in the states to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obstacle to retard his gaining possession of the crown, if he had appeared willing to satisfy the excessive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was resolved that posterity should never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanness in submitting to the rapaciousness and caprice of his subjects. That he was thus able to resist his natural inclination and ardor to ascend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it. 1593.

I ought here to do justice to some of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well assured that * Messieurs de Bellièvre, de Belin and Zamet, had no view to their own interests in those applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the same manner, but of them I cannot speak with any certainty. As to the rest, I shall content myself with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the states, as by the clergy and French nobility. I shall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal De Gondy, the marechals D'Aumont and De Bouillon, the admiral De Biron, messieurs D'O, De Vitry, De Lux, Du Pleffis, La Verriere, De Fleury, and the abbé De Chesy. A great many others remained undistinguished in this croud, although there was not one amongst them, who was not persuaded in his own mind, that he should be one day mentioned in history, as the person who had brought affairs to a conclusion. I once counted

* Pomponne de Bellièvre. Francis de Foudoas d'Averton. Sebastian Zamet.

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over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of these persons. These that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and display the hearts of these ardent counsellors. Vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would discover there.

There were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin here, but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the interested

* In the first volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, which consists only of a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had espoused, that in making peace, it was most advantageous for the king to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force: He protested, that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of

Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is fully justified in Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 153, and following, Chron. Novenn. Book v. fol. 229, and some other historians, that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. showed him this writing at Fontainebleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the duke of Maienne, whom Villeroy was at that time, by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maienne with this criminal design, Maienne answered him in these words, "I would neither tell you, nor the president Jeannin of this oath, because I promised the Spaniards and the league to the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would never be brought to approve of such a remedy," Matthieu, p. 155.

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conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, these gentlemen procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur, men then absent. In this assembly, the legate made them all swear, upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host, to maintain the league, till they saw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for such, though he should, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to some members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of this oath. In this manner did they sport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumstance, though anticipated, seems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst that croud of negotiators and counsellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themselves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to persuade these schemers, but the people, that he might be easily brought to the point they wished. This I had from the king himself. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he sent Feret, his secretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a necessity of using this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converse with me, that he might not give disgust to the catholics, and the protestants likewise, who hated me still more, perhaps, through

1593. jealousy, than the former did through a natural aversion. After complaining of this restraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of those affairs which were at present upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each separately the honour of the decision. I had said before, and it had been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his easy disposition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince represented to me the state of affairs, painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was surpris'd at that justness of penetration with which he immediately discerned truth amidst the shades that obscured it. Nor was I less charmed, when submitting his knowledge to mine, he insisted upon my prescribing to him the manner in which he should finish an affair which, to confess the truth, was not without danger till the last moment. I endeavoured to excuse myself from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my resolution: it was during this conversation that the king first mentioned to me his design of entrusting his finances to my care.

After three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the same secrecy as before. I did not approve of any of those schemes which had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of those rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other interested persons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a conclusion, which I supported with the following reasons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the present negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all these competitors for royalty should unite resolutely in favour of one particular person, because the misunderstanding which had already risen amongst the princes,

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princes, the nobles, and the Spanish ministers, gaining strength every day, we might expect to see them soon destroy each others pretensions. From whence it must necessarily happen, that those who were disinterested, and had right intentions, would bind themselves more closely to the king's party: That this effect was already indisputable, with regard to those cities of France which were at too great a distance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by the eagerness and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themselves, through hatred, jealousy, or even a consideration of their own interest, would, one after the other, throw themselves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would suffer them to entertain, would give him before hand most of those advantages he could gain from the accomplishment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were, first, an open desertion of the protestants, who were not yet sufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the most fatal consequences, since the king, not being yet secure of all the catholics to oppose them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, secondly, the necessity he laid himself under, by throwing himself into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were; which, both for the present and the future, was of dangerous consequence: That it was necessary to allow these schemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a distinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretensions, to agree that by setting too high a value upon slight services they would put it out of the king's power to satisfy them, and at length to seek their own interest in the general interest of the State. I told the king, that he would find the first who

1593. took this step, would be those, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards which they were perhaps desirous of sharing with them, would begin to be sensible of the injustice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of those foreigners increased : and that those very foreigners, finding the king so ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to ask for what they did not believe they could obtain for themselves.

I shewed the king, that whatever change should happen in his affairs, it could not be so sudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, since the speaking a few words only would answer that purpose ; whereas, by gaining time, he would discover all their designs ; and secretly breaking those connections between them, all that remained to put an absolute end to the treaty, would be to bestow rewards upon those who had a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I saw nothing better to be done, than for the king to persist in that conduct he had hitherto observed. To receive every one kindly, promise little, seem desirous of bringing matters to a conclusion, ascribe always the fault of delays to obstacles, and earnestly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this last, as much a foe to inaction and sloth as the other, engages in nothing without having first consulted judgment upon it ; while in the practice they are almost always confounded.

In these arguments which I made use of to the king, his supposed conversion was always the foundation I built upon ; and his majesty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to understand, that he would not be stopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not

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not suffer this negotiation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but join some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majesty replied, there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that after having united himself to the catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the protestants.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surêne, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion \*, to be held between the catholic priests, and the protestant clergy, at which he was always present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by some action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with a design to continue in earnest a war, which for want of money he was unable to support.

This designed expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mante; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Serisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, invested the city, which made little resistance: all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower Grise, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promised the king to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprise did not

\* At La Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere. the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral,

† Charles de Gontaut, son to

1593. fail to furnish matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly seized this occasion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my success, granted my request. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where to guard them against the fire, and efforts of the besieged, I covered them with mantelets, and strong pieces of wood, and made them apply so closely, and with such eagerness to the work, that out of six and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the excessive hardness of the stone exhausted their strength, and covered them with sweat the instant they began to work, but I caused them to be relieved immediately by four others; so that the work was not discontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to destroy them, by throwing down large pieces of stone, and firing incessantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithstanding this vigorous defence, I had the very first day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the success infallible. Six days were consumed in this work. I enclosed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in several cavities of six or seven feet square, in the thickest part of the wall, which I shut up with strong stones cemented together with plaister, leaving a passage only for two large saucisses of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outside of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpensier, desirous of seeing the disposition of this machine, received a musket shot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confusion, which was all the result expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to set fire to it, they eagerly assembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at first a low sound



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sound was heard, accompanied with a thick smoke, during which a thousand contemptuous glances were cast upon me, and I was forced to endure as many strokes of raillery upon my mine; but I soon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of smoke rose as high as the tower, and, at the same instant, we saw it divide exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part continued still standing, but in such a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all those that were within, who, terrified and astonished at such an horrible accident, and at our soldiers firing immediately upon them, sent forth most lamentable cries. The king, moved with compassion, ordered the fire to cease, and sending for those miserable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The castle instantly surrendered, and this once I was sure, that the government of a city, taken almost wholly by my means, would not be refused me. But D'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had represented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impolitic to disoblige them on so slight an occasion.

The king stopped only to perform a few more such little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to resume his conferences. This alternate succession of war, and debates, lasted all the time that the states continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the protestant religion. I should betray the cause of truth, if I suffered it to be even suspected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the desire of rest, and of freeing himself from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, tho' highly laudable in itself, had entire'y influenced the king's last resolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which

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I believe I know better than any other person, it was indeed these considerations which first hinted to him the necessity of his conversion; and I confess that I myself suggested no others to him, fully persuaded, as I have always been, although a calvinist, from what I have gathered from the most learned of the protestant clergy, that God is no less honoured in the catholic, than in the protestant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith was the securest. That native candour and sincerity which I always observed in this prince, persuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on such a fallacy.

The confession I make here ought not to be judged harshly of. It is not surprising that Henry, who never heard any arguments about religion, but in these conferences, and continual controversies \*, should suffer himself to be drawn on that side, which they took care to make always victorious. For it must be observed as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the protestants, nay more, the protestant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at last thoroughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumstance absolutely necessary for the good of the state, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; so that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The protestant clergy either defended themselves

\* All these discourses of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his understanding, or encrease his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9214.

The sincerity of his conversion is there proved by the following circumstances, his respect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his solicitude for the conversion of the young prince of

Condé, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princess of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the sovereign pontif and the queen of England, the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hospital for sick, and other buildings, the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the satisfaction which he shewed at the victory gained over the calvinists by the bishop of Evreux, &c.



no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage.

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The abbe du Perron, whose triumph there was complete, was not a man who would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of learning, supported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falshood, but by the help of a whole library; a sort of languishing defence. With princes, the progression from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the protestant clergy, who were most about the king, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed \* their faith; or, by a designed perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

The leaders of the protestant party were not so easily brought to comply with the present exigency. They were often absolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that by their obstinacy the king would lose the crown, and that since it was necessary it should be possessed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they had all the reason imaginable to depend. They had flattered themselves, that they should see a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calvinism should be the established religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes such a loss be looked upon as irreparable †.

\* D'Aubigné names some of those protestants; he observes also, that the marchioness de Monceaux, the king's mistress, acted the same part, in the hope of becoming queen herself, if Henry should be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named La Faye, who addressed him in the name of the protestant party, "there will in a little time  
"be neither a king or kingdom in  
"France. It is my desire to give  
"peace to all my subjects, and  
"quiet to my own soul; consider

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The king experienced this excess of discontent, when some of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been suffered to groan under the oppression of an infinite number of little tyrants, first applied to his majesty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the count of Belin came to make him this proposition, which he would not receive but in the presence of his whole council. There was not a protestant there, who appeared willing that he should grant it; and what is still more surprizing, it met with equal opposition from the catholics, without their being able to assign a lawful, or even a plausible reason, for such a conduct. All these persons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would signify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themselves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monsieur de Rosny," said he to me, "what makes you so thoughtful? Will not you speak your mind absolutely any more than the others." I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myself against all those that had voted, by maintaining, that it was necessary not to hesitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's interests, by an instance of kindness which he might revoke if they made a bad use of it. This advice raised a cry of disapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that consent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without success.

Henry, reflecting upon this refusal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the same nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a possibility of regaining them, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he

"among yourselves what is most necessary for your own security, you shall always find me ready to satisfy you." Chr. Nov. *ibid.*

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resolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his subduing the reluctance of several of the protestants, or of ever obtaining their free consent to this proceeding \*; but that it was necessary to act independantly of them, and hazard some murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, looking upon them as persons of whom he was already secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration threw the league into confusion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The protestants, although they had expected it, discovered their discontent by signs, and low murmurs, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with Du Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du Perron, for whom I had obtained the bishopric of Evreux, thought he could not shew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his function of converter upon me. He accosted me with the air of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such powers of reasoning as would dissipate the profoundest darkness. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being present at your disputes, is to examine which side produces the strongest and most ef-

\* Henry IV. was always sensible, that his abjuration would expose him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiselle D'Éstrées. "On Sunday I shall take a dangerous leap.

"While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troublesome people about me, which makes me detest St. Denis as much as you do Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

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“ fectual arguments. The state of affairs, your number and your riches, require that yours should prevail.” In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and splendor. I may be dispensed with dwelling upon the description of this ceremony here, since the catholic historians \* have been so prolix upon that subject.

I did not imagine I could be of any use at this time; therefore kept my self retired as one who had no interest in the shew that was preparing, when I was visited by Du Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had sent to me, to decide a dispute that had arose on occasion of the terms in which the king's profession of faith should be conceived. The catholic priests and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, instead of a grave and solemn composition. The protestant ministers, and the king himself disapproved † of the puerilities and trifles with which they had stuffed this instrument, and it occasioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confusion.

I went immediately with Du Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of these articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, should be omitted, but that all the rest should be suppressed as useless. The parties approved of this regulation, and the instrument ‡ was drawn up in such a manner, that the

\* See, besides the abovementioned historians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewise the letter written to his holiness by the king, the commission given to M. du Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

† “ There is no necessity to

“ mention a Requiem,” said Henry IV. “ I am not dead yet.”

‡ See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du Pleffis Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cause, that this first instrument which they suppressed, was however the same that was sent to the pope, as if the king had composed, written, and signed it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by mon-



king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the doctrine of justification, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the supremacy and power of the pope\*. After which the satisfaction was general†.

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sieur Lomenie. These are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

\* Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledged the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his conversion, that it was necessity and the confusion of affairs that obliged him to receive absolution from the prelates of France, rather than from those of the Holy Father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 61.

† It was Renauld, or Beaune de Samblançai, archbishop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a priest, and nine other bishops, assisted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbishop said to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the king." "What is your request?" said the archbishop.

"To be received," said the king, "into the pale of the catholic, apostolic, and roman church." "Do you desire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do desire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, said, "I protest and swear in the presence of almighty God, to live and die in the catholic, apostolic, and roman religion; to protect and defend it against all its enemies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies contrary to this catholic, apostolic, and roman church." He afterwards put this same confession in writing, into the hands of the archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians. Cayet, book v. p. 222. and following. Matthieu, &c.

# MEMOIRS

OF

## SULLY.

### BOOK VI.

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**T**HE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation\* of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Pisany, were to offer the pope the submissions usual in such cases. Although this change was a mortal stroke for the league, the Spaniards and the duke of Maienne still held out; they endeavoured to persuade their partisans that there still remained re-

\* Clement VIII. refused to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambassador, and would oblige the French bishops to go and present themselves to the grand inquisitor, pretending that they had no power to absolve the king. M. De Thou blames, with as much reason, the pope's inflexibility upon this occasion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, Book 108. See tom. II. Mem de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the historians mentioned above, the particulars of the embassies of Nevers and Luxembourg, and the negotiations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Clia-

elle, of the abbots Du-Perron and D'Offat with the Holy father. The pope still deferred a long time an absolution which he had a great desire to grant, and received very ill La-Chielle, who presented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was present, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, said to him merrily, "Holy Father, if the devil himself was to come, and ask an audience of you, and you had any hopes of converting him, you could not in conscience deny him it." This speech drew a smile from his holiness.



sources capable of making it ineffectual; but they spoke at that time contrary to their own opinion, and this feigned confidence was only designed to obtain greater advantages from the king, before he was securely fixed on the throne. 1593.

This is not a mere conjecture only, at least with regard to the king of Spain, since it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces sufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the protestant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a strict alliance between the two crowns; and an agreement, that the king should give no assistance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himself, and considered his conversion only as the principle of a new political system, which made it necessary for him to break through his former engagements. It may not perhaps be useless to mention here an observation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis she had put a thousand different springs in motion, changed parties and interests as she thought most expedient to draw advantages from the divisions that shook this kingdom, the protestant party was the only one to which she never made any application: she has often publicly protested, that she never had the least intention to gain or suffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have constantly refused the new religion admission into their states; an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the protestants are accused of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to stifle the seeds of schism in his kingdom, it was necessary to give none of the different factions occasion to boast that his power was at their disposal; and that to reduce all parties, he must be partial to none; he therefore steadily rejected these offers from Spain, and those which

1593. which the duke of Maienne made him to the same purpose: but at that very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would surrender, and reward them in proportion to their readiness and services: and it was this prudent medium that he was resolved to persist in. Although he now professed the same religion as the league, yet his aversion to the spirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not lessened; the very name only of the league was sufficient to kindle his anger. The catholic leaguers supposing that his abjuration authorized them to abolish, in those cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the huguenots; the king caused them to be restored; and though in some places the leaguers had obtained the consent even of the huguenots themselves (determined to purchase peace at any price) for this purpose, yet the protestant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect \*, and shewed that it was his design to keep the balance even.

The duke of Maienne, finding that in this last scheme, which he had believed infallible, he was disappointed as well as the rest, placed all his future dependance upon his old friends the Parisians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous disposition. But so far was he from succeeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from discovering their joy at what had just passed at Saint Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his presence; and he had the mortification to hear a proposal to send deputies to the king to demand a

\* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an assembly of the protestants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the protestants. Mem. de la Ligue, tom. 5. And the calvinists having asked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requests, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.



truce for six months, and they obliged him to give his consent to it. The truce for three months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only inspired them with an inclination for a longer one. 1593.

The king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greatest number of those who composed it, listening to nothing but their jealousy of the duke of Maienne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchasing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be shewn to this demand of the deputies, because the person who sent them persisted in his revolt against the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithstanding the justice of not confounding the duke of Maienne with the Parisians, I saw this advice was likely to be followed, and certainly it might have produced some terrible misfortune. I insisted so strongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their first terrors, taste the sweetness of a peace which would interest them still more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of August, September, and October, only.

The next day a prodigious concourse of the populace of Paris assembled at St. Denis. The king shewed himself to the people, assisted publicly at mafs; wherever he turned his steps the crowd was so great, that it was \* sometimes impossible to pierce through them: at the same moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king*: Every one returned, charmed with the graceful-

† Or at Villette, situated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is observed in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated the 31st of July, and was published the next day at Paris.

\* "They are wild," said Henry, "to see a king." Etoile, ib. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiselle D'Étrées, upon this or

some other such occasion, he says; "A pleasant adventure happened to me at church; an old woman of 80 years of age, seized me by the head and kissed me; I was not the first who laughed at it; to-morrow you shall sweeten my mouth." Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand.

1593. nefs of his person, his condescension, and that popular air which was natural to him: "God blefs him," said they, with tears in their eyes, "and grant that he may soon do the same in our church of Notre Dame in Paris." I observed to the king this disposition of the people with regard to him; tender and sensible as he was, he could not behold this spectacle without a strong emotion.

The Spaniards had now recourse to their usual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was just arrived at St. Denis, charged with dispatches of great importance, from Mandoce, who had ordered him to make his applications directly to me, being the only person who had any knowledge of the proposals which he had a long time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau and the viscount De Chaux. This Spaniard, whose name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domestic of D'Entragues, whose service he had quitted for that of Mandoce: D'Entragues corresponded, by his means, with the Spanish ambassador to the league: This is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or false, that D'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spanish emissary, and less in D'Entragues, whose turbulent disposition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spanish stratagem: but D'Entragues seemed so affected with my suspicions of his fidelity, and added so many assurances of the veracity of his Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of D'Entragues's visit, had the same opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to say.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after some vague conversation about the joy there



was in the court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a great many protestations of kindness, which I had no reason to believe very sincere, at length told me, he had a commission to propose a marriage between the king and the infanta \* of Spain, with some other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to present him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that since he came from so suspected a place, he must purchase the honour of an audience from his majesty, by submitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to search him myself, and afterwards caused two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid scrutiny about his person and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himself of this task with great exactness. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the proposals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms so specious and lofty, that the king, who at first would hardly listen to him, could not hinder himself from approving of the Spaniard's proposal, to send some person on whom he could rely, to enquire of Don Berhardin de Mandoce himself, if what he had just said could be depended on.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a mystery, I could not approve of, and still less of the choice his majesty made of La Varenne for this occasion, a man remarkably vain †. The king, to whom I discovered all my apprehen-

\* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II.

† We shall mention him again, in the sequel of these Memoirs; his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of La Varenne from the marquisate of La Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His

first employment was that of a cook to the princess Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princess met him one day after his preferment, and said to him, "La Varenne, thou hast gained more by carrying my brother's pou-

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sions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving La Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandoce; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry sought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break his alliance with the protestant powers; which might have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

The last resource the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the king; a resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a small number of determined men, whose heads they had turned with the alluring prospect of great rewards, if they succeeded in their enterprize,

"lets\*, than by farding of mine," one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was first made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. "What," said this prince to him, "if thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman, I should have understood what you would be at; but to give a gentleman to him, is what I cannot comprehend." They say likewise that

La Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor De Bellievre made some difficulty to grant him, La Varenne said to him, "Sir, don't have such a high opinion of yourself: I would have you to know, that if my master was twenty-five years younger I would not change places with you." See D'Aubigné, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe, Mem. de m. le duc d'Angoulême, Mem. de Du Pleffis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. V. p. 276. speaks of the embassy of La Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

\* Porter le poulets, in French, signifies to carry love-letters: the jest lies in the ambiguity of the word poulet, which signifies either a pullet or a girl.



and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom 1593. if they sunk under it. Nature itself so recoils at the reflection, that those who boast of being the supporters of religion, should so impiously violate its most sacred injunctions, that this passage ought to be blotted from all histories; were it not likewise certain, that there is not any society of men, who bear the name of christians, that would suffer the imputation of authorizing such a crime; such, indeed, that no body of men, or even any individual, ought to be accused of it, without a proof too clear to be contested.

The king had but too \* many in those journeys he took from St. Denis to Châlon-sur-marne, to Fort de Gournai to Brie-comterobert, to Melun, and afterwards to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks especially have contracted a stain which they will not easily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have perished by the hand of one of these enthusiasts, whom the jesuits and Capuchins every where suborned for that purpose. Amongst other informations which were sent him upon this subject, he received advice, that one of these villains had set out from Lyons, with a resolution to come thither and assassinate him. Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his design in confession to a priest; who, terrified at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman posted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and described him so exactly to the king, from the picture the priest had drawn of him, that he was known and seized amongst the crowd at Melun, confessed his intended crime, and re-

\* Cayet. Chron. Novenn. liv. 5. p. 280. speaks more positively of those conspiracies against the life of Henry IV. Marisot says, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a design to stab the prince, but observing with

what devotion he behaved at mass, he threw himself at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, resuming his first intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

1593. ceived punishment for it. The king, ashamed even for his enemies, who by this wickedness discovered the true bent of their dispositions, equally alarmed with all these attempts against his person, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take, often complained to me in the most affecting manner of his uneasy situation.

He would not have been unhappy if the behaviour of the catholics in his court had at least compensated for that of the catholics in the league; but the king's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others, and they thought they were entitled to make him comply with their inclinations in all things. They bore with impatience the king's not breaking off all commerce with his old protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much less than their suspicions that, in those conversations I had with the king, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the confusion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to assert his authority, so far complied with their caprices, as to avoid all private conversation with the huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the catholics only, and continued them at Andresy \* and Milly. I took this opportunity to ask the king's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of five or six thousand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the state of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me.

\* And likewise, at Pontoise, and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clause, chief-justice in eyre. The Roman catholics who were there, were, according to M. De Thou, messieurs De Schomberg, De Villeroi, De Belin, De Revol, Jeannin, and De Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that their discourses turned more upon politics than religion.



I came to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, hastened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had scattered throughout the kingdom. Spanish pistoles were then so common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money. 1593.

I had scarce sold half of my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainebleau obliged me to return. He had, in my absence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, because two of them, one of which came from madam De Simiers\*, sister to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars; and the other from La Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Desportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had something to communicate to me relating to the proposal I made him in my abbey Saint-Taurin of Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the catholics, could only give me these letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Desportes was the agent employed by the baron De Medavy † to treat of an accommodation with him, and the surrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam De Simiers, and that from La Font, turned only upon some favourable circumstances which now presented themselves, to engage Villars in the king's interest. But affairs soon took another turn with regard to him; the loss of Fescamp ‡ so affected this governor, that for this time he broke off all measures towards an accommodation. I was informed of it by letters

\* Louisa De l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief groom of the stole to the duke of Alençon.

† Peter Rouxel, baron of Médavy, count of Grancey, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and

counsellor of state, died in 1617: He was remarkable for an uncommon strength of body.

‡ A port and fortress in the country of Caux.

1593. from madam De Simiers and La-Font, in answer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good resolutions.

The manner in which Fescamp was surprised is so remarkable that it well deserves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Byron from the league, in the garrison that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman, called Bois-rosé \*, a man of sense and courage, who making an exact observation of the place he left, and having concerted his scheme, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmost recess of the sea, when, for the space of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry sand at the foot of the rock. Bois-rosé, who found it impossible by any other way to surprise a garrison, who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side which was thought inaccessible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

He had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-rosé taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came, with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst the sailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a thick cable, equal in length

\* — De Goustiminil, or Goussiminil, lord of the manor of Bois-rosé. See Chron. Novenn. book v. p. 94.



to the heighth of the rock, and tying knots at equal distances, run short sticks through, to serve to support them as they climbed. The soldier whom he had gained, having waited six months for the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made fast to an opening in the battlement with a strong crow run through an iron staple made for that purpose. Bois-rosé giving the lead to two serjeants whose courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty soldiers to mount the ladder in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himself bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed soon became impossible, for before they had ascended half way, the sea rising more than six feet, carried off their boats, and set their cable a floating. The necessity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprise is not always a security against fear, when the danger appears almost inevitable. If the mind represents to itself these fifty men, suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness, trusting their safety to a machine so insecure, that the least want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash them against the rocks; add to this, the noise of the waves, the heighth of the rock, their weariness, and exhausted spirits; it will not appear surprising, that the boldest amongst them trembled, as in effect he who was foremost did. This serjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of those that were before him, advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whose spirits he at first endeavoured

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to

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to animate; but finding that gentleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poignard; and, doubtless, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the sea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two soldiers into the castle, where they began to slaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; sleep delivered them up an easy prey to the enemy, who killed all that resisted, and possessed themselves of the fort.

Bois-rosé immediately sent notice of this amazing success to admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had so dearly bought was the least reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commandeur de Grillon \*, had a design to drive him out of it. Amidst the first transports of his rage for this injustice, he delivered the castle of Fescamp to the king, whose conversion he had just been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negotiation which he had permitted madam De Simiers and La Font to carry on in his name, and sent forces to invest Fescamp. Bois-rosé, finding himself too weak to make a long resistance, called the king to his aid, who instantly set forward for Dieppe, and came to St. Valery in Caux. When this hostility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maïenne's representation, that it was necessary he should have more time to settle an affair of such importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim against this violation of the truce, and sent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery,

\* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.



acquitted himself of his commission, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he said was no more than necessary for the duke of Maïenne to make known his last intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had sent cardinal de Joyeuse\* and Montpezat for that purpose. The king, who perceived he only wanted to amuse him, rejected the count of Belin's proposals; and, without listening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the first cause of, marched directly to Fescamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortress with plenty of all things necessary for its security.

The king, at his return to Mante, being informed that the marquis de Vitry† was inclined to receive him in Meaux, to favour the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were so ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux‡ on the first day of the year 1594. La Chatre§ immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce|| being at an end, the king laid siege to Ferté-Milon. I would have taken this opportunity to finish the business that had carried me to Bontin, but his majesty commanded me to review some battalions of Swiss at Montereau‡. I sent to madam De Rosny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante.

\* Francis, the second of the seven sons of William De Joyeuse. Henry Des Prés, sieur of Montpezat.

† Lewis de l'Hopital, marquis of Vitry.

‡ The duke of Maïenne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hands, Vitry said to his messenger: "You press me too much: you will at last make me speak as becomes a soldier. Suppose a thief had stolen a purse, and confided it

"to my care; if afterwards, coming to the knowledge of the right owner, I should restore it him, and refuse to give it back to the thief who had intrusted me with it, do you think I should commit a wicked and treasonable action? I did nothing else when I delivered up the city of Meaux." Memoirs for the History of France, tom. II.

§ Claude de la Chatre.

|| Between Meaux and Soissons.

‡ Montereau faut-yonne, in Champaigne.

1594. She waited for me there to no purpose. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swiss, I received new dispatches from madam De Simiers and La Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeased, and that nothing hindered me from resuming the scheme that had been laid aside. This affair the king thought of such importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count De \* Chaligny just then coming to the army with a passport for Paris, intreated the king to send a person whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I should take advantage of this opportunity, which offered me both the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the designs of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen securely.

Accordingly, I accompanied the count De Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the house of the sieur De St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I sent notice of my arrival to the persons who managed our interview: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one servant; I likewise having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a conversation that lasted two hours, which left me entirely satisfied with the intentions of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmost secrecy; for, besides that the governors of the chief royalist cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealousy or self interest, to cross the negotiation, and perhaps have done something worse, as in effect

\* Henry De Lorraine, count of Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.



they did, as soon as they had any suspicion of the affair; there were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as those belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by such considerable supplies, as to make him repent of the measures he had engaged in.

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I staid five days in Fort St. Catherine with the same privacy; during which time I had several conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Interest was not here the greatest difficulty to get over; he was less solicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, sought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his interests a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to serve him. It has been already observed, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as soon as my discourse had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardness; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the necessary powers for concluding it.

But to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor's character: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: these two qualities were, courage and integrity; the first inspired that elevated generosity, that inborn noble pride\*, which in great souls is only a perception of their own worth, without the least mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of self-love; the second produces sincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and surprize, and always ready to yield to reason and justice: he who unites these two qualities, has seldom any other fault than being too quickly moved to sudden eruptions of anger.

\* M. De Thou, speaking of admiral De Villars, says, that he was of a harsh and insolent disposition, book ciii.

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Such was Villars: and what I have still to say concerning him will justify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his disposition and the king's, to suffer him to continue long in a state of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long course of misfortunes, by the necessity he was under of gaining friends; and lastly, by the native tenderness of his heart, converted his first violent sallies of rage into such \* emotions as were wholly under the government of his

\* Here is a piece of private history, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the president De Thou, which proves what the author says here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has also some relation to what had been said before upon the siege of Rouen. "One day that Grillon came into the king's closet, to excuse himself upon his being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards, to treat with the admiral, had afforded him an opportunity and the means of making that furious sally which has been mentioned, he passed from excuses to disputes, then fell into a passion and uttered blasphemies. The king, being exasperated at this behaviour, commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming back every moment from the door, and they perceiving that the king grew pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would seize upon somebody's sword and run the impudent fellow through. At last, being come to himself, after Grillon went out, and turning towards the lords who attended him, and who, with De Thou, had admired the patience with which he bore this insolence, he said to them, "Nature has formed me passionate, but since I have

been sensible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard against the dictates of so dangerous a passion; I know by experience that it is a bad adviser, and am glad to have such good witnesses of my moderation." It is certain, that his constitution, the fatigues he had endured, and the many vicissitudes of fortune to which he had been subjected, had given him a firmness of soul, that was proof against the efforts of rage, but not the allurements of pleasure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus contesting with him, marshal Biron, who was then in the king's room, sitting upon a trunk, pretended to be asleep; and as the dispute grew warmer, his sleep became more sound; though Grillon came near him in order to abuse him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy snarling dog. The company were persuaded that the marshal only affected that deep sleep, that he might not expose himself to the brutality of such a fiery hot-brained man; which would infallibly have happened if he had seemed to hear him. It was also believed, that he was willing to leave the king all the fatigue of the conversation."

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reason, and seldom appeared in his countenance or gesture, and still seldomer in his words.

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The king was just come to Chartres \*, which place he had chosen † for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him, to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the case. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soissons and the duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and strengthened and confirmed by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and, above all, for the same mistress, who was the princess Catherine, sister to the king. The duke of Montpensier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immense estates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but, poor as he was, without places, without governments, and disliked by the king ever since his escape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to possess entirely the heart of the princess. The countess of Guich ‡ was their confidant; she was acquainted with all their secrets, managed their correspondence when they could not see each other, and so confirmed their mutual affection, that she made them both sign a contract

\* Feb. 17, 1594.

† Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unless it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majesty should be crowned by Nicholas De Thou, bishop of this city, and not by the archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and

that no use should be made of the *Sainte-Ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony described in the historians.

‡ The same who had been mistress to Henry IV, but she was grown very fat, coarse, and red-faced. Journ. of the reign of Henry III. tom. i. p. 279.

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of marriage, which the confusion only of the times prevented them from solemnizing.

His majesty was so passionately desirous of reconciling these two princes of the blood to each other, that the treaty with Villars was suffered to stand still, whilst he applied himself wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonstrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he insisted upon my undertaking the difficult task of making them friends, conjointly with the bishop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at first, but found he was not able to succeed alone, in so delicate an affair. It is certain, I still preserved a great share of the count's esteem, but I was well acquainted with his insolent and haughty disposition, and that the fear only of seeming to yield to a rival who was his superior; would not only confirm him in his pretensions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the disputes, refusals, and sallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our task, as hopeless of ever accomplishing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, with much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the two princes to see each other, and to embrace. I was not to answer for the sincerity of this reconciliation: the article of their passion for the princess, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continuing still undetermined, left the seeds of division in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an insurmountable obstacle.

I was extremely well satisfied at having succeeded so far, without touching upon this article, and I now saw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen. But I was deceived: the king's extreme solicitude to reconcile these princes was with a view of attaining another end, which he still more ardently desired; and this was the very same that I thought I had

had



had so prudently laid aside, the marriage of the princess his sister. Unfortunately I was the person his majesty fixed upon to accomplish this design. I was commissioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have just mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that, this obstacle being removed, the king, who was resolved to refuse the duke of Montpensier nothing he demanded, might be able to make use of his authority to prevail upon the princess to receive him for a husband, and by that means deliver himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less dangerous, since the count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness.

I trembled when I received the king's order for this purpose. I would have represented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Medavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to those places. The affair was resolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I asked to insure the success of his scheme, which was, to give no suspicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what measures I thought necessary to take.

When I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commission which I had received, I confess I was thrown into the utmost perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princess Catherine's disposition, from whom it was necessary to get this contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's designs with regard to her. How difficult a task! to persuade a woman, and a princess,

1594.  to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated. There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquish my scruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, though I did not consult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real interest; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad consequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myself that the princess would one day think herself obliged to me for having, by an innocent stratagem, prevented the ruin of her fortune, together with the loss of the king her brother's friendship. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon the deceit, and confess that I had done her a real service by it, was what at last determined me. As for the count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the king my master required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cause of great uneasiness to me, which my scruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, should have preserved me from.

There was still another difficulty to be removed. I saw the princess very seldom, on account of the multiplicity of business in which I was engaged, and I knew her discernment too well to doubt that whatever measures I made use of to obtain the contract in question, my unusual assiduity would in a mind naturally distrustful, create suspicions which would put her upon her guard against all I could say or get others to say to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in such a manner that she should prevent me herself. For this purpose I made use of  
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the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (especially the youngest) were of a humour to make their court to the Great at the expence of betraying a secret. I was intimate only with the bishop of Evreux, the eldest: but one risks nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this article they are always their own dupes first. I went therefore to visit the younger Du-Perron; I flattered him; I insinuated myself into his favour by feigning to impart secrets to him. He began to think himself a man of vast importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I said to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with self-admiration, I told him (with all the appearances of the utmost sincerity, exacting at the same time an oath of secrecy from him, which I should have been very sorry he had kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princess; that he was resolved to marry her to the count of Soissons; and that some little difficulties, which still remained to be got over, prevented his majesty from publicly declaring his design. I was assured two days only would be sufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of this weighty secret, in such a manner that it would reach the princess Catherine. Accordingly, a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of secrecy, to monsieur De Courtenai\*, and two other of the count of Soisson's most intimate confidants. They ran to inform the count of it, and he the princess and the countess of Guiche.

I did not doubt but the princess, flattered with such an agreeable hope, would make me the first advances; and I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as a man just ready to undertake a long journey, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The princess received me with more than usual respect; and the countess of

\* Gaspard de Courtenai.

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Guiche, not willing to lose so favourable an opportunity, after some conversation upon indifferent matters, made haste to bring the affair of the princess's marriage with the count, who was present, upon the carpet, and embracing me in a transport of friendship, "See," said she to the lovers, "a man who is able to serve you." The princess then, addressing herself to me, told me, that I knew the count and her had always esteemed me greatly; and that she in particular would be extremely obliged to me, if I would assist her endeavours to restore herself to the favour of the king her brother. She spoke only these few words, and left the care of saying more to that insinuating and graceful air, which she knew better than any other woman in the world how to assume when she pleased. I seemed to be absolutely gained; and after thanking the princess for the honour she did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the secrecy of all that were then present, I would inform them of some circumstances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no scruple to promise secrecy, though they have been always accused of performing that promise very ill. The princess and her confidant added an oath to the assurances they gave me; but it was not my design to explain myself farther at that time. I asked them for three days delay: they assisted me in finding an excuse for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had prescribed.

I was punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princess at the expiration of the three days. I suffered myself to be pressed a long time before I would disclose my secret; at last, seeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having several times founded the king upon the marriage in question, he at first shewed some reluctance to it, without caring to explain himself



farther; but my earnest intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this subject; and he confessed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one; and that since he had no issue of his own, he should be overjoyed to see the offspring of his sister and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the gentle and complying disposition of the count of Soissons and the princess was highly agreeable to him, but that he should find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his sister without his consent. This speech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I designed it should: the two lovers and their confidant began to confess they had acted indiscretely, and to condemn themselves for conducting the affair with such a spirit of independance. This was what I waited for: I seized this opportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be soon repaired; that the king was naturally kind, and easily forgot past injuries; all that was now necessary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to solicit his favour, seem absolutely dependant upon him, leave him master of their destiny; in fine (and this was the most difficult point of all) sacrifice to him the contract they had both signed, as being what he was most offended with; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they should both bind themselves not to marry without his consent: after this condescension, I told them, on their side, I believed I might assure them, that in less than three months the king would himself prevent their desires, and unite them for ever.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit to these assurances, and that very instant they promised to resign the contract of marriage, possibly because they thought it would be of no use to them, if the

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king, when he became absolute master in his dominions, should not agree to it. The countess of Guiche said she had left it at Bearn, but would send for it immediately. They did not so easily yield to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their resigning the contract signified nothing, since the parties might whenever they pleased renew it. This was the very argument I made use of to enforce the necessity of giving it, and I convinced them, that without this the king could neither depend upon their sincerity, nor be assured of their obedience. This article was strongly contested; and when at last, by the force of remonstrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princess and the count cancelled all promises that had passed between them, released each other from any engagement, and submitted themselves absolutely to the king's disposal, the consequences of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourse to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had rested as it was: this medium was, that I only should be intrusted with it, and should not suffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king should require it. Luckily they did not add, that it should be returned to the princess, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promised them, upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which satisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, signed by the princess and the count, and sealed with their arms. The king's joy for my success, which he durst hardly flatter himself with the hopes of, was considerably less, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands: he often entreated me earnestly to give it him; but finding, by my persisting to refuse him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promise, he no longer solicited me to it. The two lovers seeing the agreeable hopes I had given them still unaccomplished, could not, as it may be well



imagined, pardon me for having deceived them: 1594. the succeeding part of these Memoirs will shew how they repented it.

After the conclusion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehensive, and not without reason, that so long a delay had absolutely broke all my first measures with admiral Villars: however, I obtained full powers \* from the king to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but also with all the other governors and officers of the province. Just as I was going to set out, Desportes arrived, and stopped me once more; he was sent by the baron De Medavy to the bishop of Evreux, to desire that he would lend him his house of Condé for a little time; and also prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madam D'Aumale having long earnestly solicited me to visit her there.

This lady, who had more understanding and prudence than her husband, conjured him incessantly to break with the league, and resign himself wholly to the king. She was sensible, that not only his duty and safety required that he should take this step, but his interest likewise; for the duke D'Aumale's † domestic affairs were in such disorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongst the first who returned to their duty and obedience on this occasion, and were therefore distinguished with very considerable rewards. I alighted at an inn in Anet, and while my supper was preparing, went to wait upon

\* The present duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his possession, as likewise many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this subject.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Brussels; his wife was Mary de Lorraine, daughter of René, duke of Elbeuf.

1594. madam D'Aumale, attended only by one page:  
 To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added the favour of a most obliging and friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand and made me walk with her in those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place: here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience he owed his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if she had not intreated, and even forced me to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large chamber, all shining with marble, but almost destitute of furniture, and so cold, that I could neither get heat, nor sleep in a bed, where the short narrow silk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one with cold, even in the midst of summer: not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniences of my damp lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom fared better, and passed the night more comfortably than their master.

I made myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute



tribute towards an agreeable reception : as soon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Medavy not being expected till noon. At first he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in such a conjuncture as the present the most considerable nobleman has a right to set ten times a greater value upon himself than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of false distrust, and an affected superiority, which he imagined would procure him some advantage. I contrasted his vanity with a frankness that shewed it to himself, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his sacrifice would immediately lose half of its value; and that afterwards perhaps his proposals would not be listened to, and no reward granted him. My sincerity forced him to be candid likewise; he appeared more reasonable, and we soon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, because he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He sent Desportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to observe, at the same time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whose accommodation drew his along with it, and in some measure necessarily.

I came to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he sent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter secretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The streets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace by which quiet and commerce would be restored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I passed. Villars had caused the finest house in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which consisted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the necessary orders for treating us magnificently.

1594. La-Font, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his master, and at night gave me the music, and the diversion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé De Tiron \*, who all had a great share in the management of this affair: they returned me the same civility a few moments after by the sieur De Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that I must rest this day, and we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony; indeed his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such negotiations.

I found by his discourse that the king had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named Don Simon-Antonio, and another called Chapelle Marteau †, from the duke of Maïenne, came to Rouen some days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to this governor; he had likewise daily received letters from the catholics, even those in the king's party, which tended to raise unfavourable suspicions of his majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negotiation entrusted to a protestant agent: this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemies party, if in this perplexity his mind had not been ballanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the bishop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the king's word and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and

\* Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Josophat, Tiron, and Bonport. † Michael Marteau, sieur de la Chapelle.



thought it necessary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beset by deputies from the league, and offended likewise at the delays that had been used with him, I must not expect to vanquish his irresolution without suffering some of those sallies of rage, so natural to him, and which with a little patience it was easy to allay. 1594.

I went to wait on \* Villars, well prepared to sustain all these little assaults, and at first perceived plainly that the sight of me awakened some remains of distrust and anger in his mind. My behaviour soon dissipated this cloud, and he with great calmness and serenity proposed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he should continue still in his post of admiral, which had been bestowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen possess a power independent of the duke of Montpensier, governor of that province, at least during three years; and that this power should extend over the bailiwicks of Rouen and Caux: That the exercise of the protestant religion should not be allowed in this capital, nor six leagues about it: That all the officers posted by the league in the cities belonging to his government should be continued there, with fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, to be maintained by the king for the security of those cities: That his majesty should give him the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly pension of sixty thousand: That Fescamp should be delivered to him: And lastly, that he should have the disposal of the abbeyes of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, La Valase, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montivilliers, which he designed for a sister of madam de Simiers.

\* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of those times, is represented to be of a haughty disposition, and subject to frequent transports of anger. It is there observed, that the baron De Rosny was the only one that could succeed in these negotiations. Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. These negotiations of the baron De Rosny are also commended by M. de Thou, b. cix.

1594.

If all these articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any farther delay; and this I assured him of with regard to those wherein the king was absolute master. But however full and extensive the powers I had received from his majesty were, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded the duke of Montpensier, and Biron, who was invested with the post of admiral, and in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-rosé on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced with great fury: "That I might spare myself the trouble of talking to him any more, since he was determined either to finish the treaty upon the spot, or break it off entirely."

Although I was a little stunned with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the king would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others (that of Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it:) That this needed not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, inserting only this note in the margin over against the three articles, *To be determined by the king*. And to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his majesty returned



returned an answer. Villars still started new difficulties, but he could not resist madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and La Font, who all supported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haste; we signed it; and I sent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had passed. But before the answer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it useless.

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Most of the governors of the small forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, persisted in their revolt, because, in the present confused state of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foresaw would cease with the war. The most artful amongst them made themselves equally necessary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of those who acted on these principles with the greatest subtilty. He had for more than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him, which his majesty at all events gave him a written promise of. Du Rollet failing in an enterprise which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blast my negotiation, which he attempted in this manner:

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I passed through Ponte de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that Du Rollet was disaffected, but I had no reason to suspect this officer of having any bad designs, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewise absolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very same person who had been employed by Du Rollet before to cabal against Villars

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Villars in Rouen \*. He was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of rash inconsiderate persons, with whom he laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; persuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other design than to alarm the governor, and to inspire him with the utmost detestation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair secret; in effect, Villars was informed of it immediately.

The excess of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inspired him with against the king, and especially me, may be easily imagined. Convinced that he had now an incontestable proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any further, but sent D'Inscourt to me that moment to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with La Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which pleased me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles which had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Over against these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed by his majesty's command*. I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprising Villars, who could not expect such a quick dispatch; and went out of La Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, holding a white scarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars's neck, and embracing him, to salute him admiral and governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections

\* During the siege of Rouen, Du Rollet endeavouring to throw himself into that city, was taken and shut up in the old castle, where however, it is probable, he still continued to carry on intrigues for the king's interest. Cayet, b. iv. p. 14.

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that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, something in it very uncommon. 1594.

My gaiety was soon overcast, for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his face swelled and inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his looks and gestures expressive of the most violent transports of fury. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to speak, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

“ So, sir, where, in the devil’s name, are you going so airy, and so full of mirth? By heavens you have not attained your purpose, and before the game is ended, you may perhaps have no cause to smile, at least if I treat you as you deserve. You are out in your reckoning, you, and your king of Navarre also, for by my soul he has got a —— in the basket, and if he can find no other footman than Villars, I fancy he will be but badly served.” Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the same tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furnishing him with an inexhaustable source of them.

That I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, or rather indeed to the necessity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that these sorts of dispositions cannot bear contradiction: at length stopping of himself, he began to traverse his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. “ Well, sir,” said I, when I found he was silent, “ have you done yet talking at random? You have reason to be satisfied at having thus behaved like a madman, without  
“ being

1594. "being contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm manner in which I spoke to him obliged him in spite of himself to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just said and done in my presence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had so solemnly given; but that this turn would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, stopping short, "I never did, nor ever" "will deserve or suffer such a reproach. I am a" "man of too much honour; such evasions are" "only fit for those who betray their friends," "and endeavour to get them assassinated." Hitherto he had said nothing so plain as this last word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his meaning, yet I was able to guess from whence so furious a behaviour proceeded.

I demanded an explanation, and protested to him, with that air of sincerity and confidence with which even the most prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was absolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myself into his hands, without desiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to assassinate him, and to seize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to speak otherwise than in broken and interrupted sentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myself from entertaining some suspicions of his sincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been seduced by Spanish pistoles to contrive such a slight pretence for breaking with me. "Who" "I?" cried he, relapsing again in a rage, "'Sdeath," "must I confess that I have acted treacherously" "with you, and broke my oath? I would rather" "die



“die than be guilty of such baseness.” “By  
 “heaven, sir,” answered I, “for you teach me  
 “to swear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking  
 “off the treaty, that I shall know whether to  
 “believe you an honest or a perjured man.”

We continued thus expostulating a long time, which increased rather than lessened our mutual dissatisfaction; so that at last we both became equally enraged. During this contest the abbot de Tiron came in, and entering immediately into the occasion of our quarrel, reduced us both to reason. “Depend upon it, sir,” said he to Villars, “the  
 “baron de Rosny is not guilty of the schemes  
 “that have been laid against you; he is a man  
 “of too much honour; and, in such a case, too  
 “prudent to throw himself into your power.”

These few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cause of all the injurious things he had said; and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his first promise. “Well,  
 “sir,” said he, already half pacified, “I will keep  
 “my word: but take care also not to fail of  
 “yours, with regard to the three articles yet un-  
 “determined.” I answered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have seen that the king consented to grant him them all.

We were upon these terms when madam De Simiers was introduced. “Don’t be angry with  
 “me, madam,” said he, as he went to receive her: “all is over, we are good friends again;  
 “but, by heaven, the traitor who made all this  
 “mischief shall die before I eat or drink.” He kept his word, for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

1594.

Villars intreating me afterwards to shew him the king's letter, I did not scruple to tell him, that his majesty's secrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary but to draw up the treaty again, which we signed, and each of us kept a duplicate of it. It was agreed between us, that the affair should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and the Spaniards, against whom this governor took new measures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in shewing him all my letters, as well those which I had written to and received from the king before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his majesty's answer to it. The courier who carried these last dispatches was not more than four hours on his journey.

These letters gave great satisfaction to Villars, particularly the last, written with the king's own hand. His majesty in that thanked me more like a friend, than a sovereign, for the service I had just done him, and concluded with these words, "Come to me at Senlis, on the 20th of March, or at Saint Denis on the 21st, that you may help to cry *Long live the king* in Paris, and afterwards we will do the same at Rouen:" for I wrote to him that his presence there was necessary: "Shew this letter," added he, "to the new friend you have acquired me, that he may see I do not forget him, and be convinced that I love him, and know how to prize and reward such brave men as he is." "By heaven," said Villars, at this place, "this prince is too gracious and obliging to remember me, and speak of me in such advantageous terms." From that moment Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majesty amongst his most ancient servants one more absolutely



lutely devoted to his interests than him. He desired me to be satisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the best security he could give me. 1594.

The remainder of the time that I staid in Rouen was employed in regulating some affairs of the same nature. I usually spent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, that were scattered throughout that province, and who came to me privately to concert measures for separating the people from the interests of the league. Medavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Medavy to publish his treaty, for an example to the other governors.

As I was solicitous not to neglect meeting his majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to relieve Rouen, after receiving from the governor every instance of gratitude and respect. I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbot De Tiron, and madam De Simiers, promised them to return soon, and assured madam De Simiers, I would bring her brother, the marquis De Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops sufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himself without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon some correspondencies the king carried on in Paris that he found his hopes of being soon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so firmly united, and so many persons of equal courage and fidelity had

1594. joined, that it was almost impossible but that it should succeed. Ever since the battle of Arques, when the count Belin was taken prisoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of discovering the great qualities of that prince contrasted with the weakness of his enemies, the duke of Maienne perceived the inclinations of this governor to lean secretly towards the king. Full of this suspicion, he did not hesitate a moment about depriving him \* of the government of so considerable a city as Paris, and sought for a man whose fidelity to himself and the league could be depended upon, to entrust the care of this great city to, at a time when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy; accordingly he fixed upon Brissac †, and bestowed this government upon him.

Brissac, at first, answered his purpose perfectly well. The study of the roman history had inspired this officer (who valued himself greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very singular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new state. Had Brissac descended ever so little from these lofty ideas to an attention to particular circumstances, which in the greatest designs it is necessary to have some regard to, he would have perceived that a scheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obstacles which oppose it, by the difference of the genius, and character of the people, by the force of those laws they have adopted, and by long custom, which, as it were, stamps a seal upon them, become alike chimerical and impracticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies

\* The parliament upon this occasion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to partake than suffer his banishment from the city. Me-

moirs for the history of France, Vol. II. Memoirs of the league, Vol. VI.

† Charles De Cossé, count of Brissac, marechal of France,



to the defects in the customs of a state whose form <sup>1594.</sup> is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution\*: this is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force.

Brissac did not go so far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded, for he had explained himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partisans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest while, without any assistance, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king should destroy it entirely, by seizing his capital. Possessed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French spirit of those times, which was to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When self-interested motives are strengthened by the apprehension of any danger, there are few persons who will not be induced by them to betray even their best friend. Thus Brissac† acted: he entered into the count of Belin's resolutions, but from a motive far less noble and generous; and thought of nothing but of making the king purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the duke of Maïenne, in his absence. St. Luc ‡,

\* The sense in which the duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as possible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel

of these Memoirs.

† The duke of Maïenne, as De Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the dutchess of Guise, his mother; but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334. and other historians.

‡ Francis D'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, master-general of the ordnance.

1594. his brother-in-law, undertook to negotiate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Brissac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in spite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were absolutely at his disposal, and they had no reason to apprehend any opposition from the people.

D'O \* lost no time in making application for the government of Paris, and the isle of France, and obtained his request; but now a conflict between his interest and ambition so perplexed this superintendant, that, notwithstanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongst the number of those things he most feared should happen: he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, lest the finances should become a prey to the men of the sword and gown, by whom, he said, the king, as soon as he was possessed of Paris, would be oppressed, for the payment of pensions, appointments, and rewards. But this discourse deceived none but those who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their present state of confusion, and with what success he had hitherto laboured for that purpose.

The king, upon this occasion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no less dependance than upon Brissac; and at nine o'clock in the morning † presented himself, at the head of eight thousand men, before Porte Neuve, where the ‡ mayor of Paris, and the other magi-

\* Our Memoirs make no mention of monsieur D'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had bestowed upon him. Peref. 2d part.

† March 22.

‡ This mayor of Paris was John L'Huillier, who when Brissac said to him, "We must render to

"Cæsar the things that are Cæ-

"sar's," he replied, "We must render them, indeed, but not sell them to him." F. L'Etoile's Journal ascribes the repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the post of president of the chamber of accounts, and counsellor of state; and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is observed, in the volume of



strates, received him in form. He went immediately and took possession of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and found no opposition any where; he proceeded even to the church of Notre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his success. His soldiers, on their side, fulfilled with such exactness the orders \* and intentions of their master, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them. They took possession of all the squares and cross-ways in the streets, where they drew up in order of battle. All was quiet; and from that day the shops were opened with all the security which a long continued peace could have given.

The Spaniards had now only the Bastille, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their possession; and there they fortified themselves, being about four thousand in number, with the duke De Feria and Don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly astonished at such unexpected news †, and firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from those advantageous posts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by sending to tell them, that they might

MSS. marked 9033. in the king's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has been since called the gate of the conference, he went out again, and returned several times, fearing, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their design was to cut them in pieces, and seize his person.

\* The king perceiving a soldier take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Perefex says, that La-Nouë being arrested for debts which his father con-

tracted in this prince's service, complained to him of that influence. The king, in public, said to him, "La-Nouë, you must pay your debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aside, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, instead of the baggage they had seized of his. Peref. part 2d.

† L'Etoile observes, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amusing them with relating circumstances out of the Roman history, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

1594.

leave Paris, and retreat in full security. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the same gentleness, notwithstanding the resentment he still retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soissons was the place whither these enemies of the king \* retired, protected by a strong escort. His majesty then published a general pardon † for all the French who had borne arms against him. When this sacrifice is not extorted by necessity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to satiate itself, it is not one of the least marks of a truly royal disposition. Madam De ‡ Montpensier being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and conversed as familiarly with her, as if he had some very important reason for sparing her the confusion which any other person in his situation would have been fond of throwing her into ||.

\* The king had a mind to see them march out, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all saluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeness, returned the salute to the principal officers, adding these words, "Remember me to your master; go, I permit you, but return no more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the history of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the same author.

† All the Memoirs of those times are filled with instances of Henry's clemency, and his sprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are welcome," said the king to him, "for if we win you will be ours." Le Grain, book x.

‡ Catherine-Maria of Lorraine, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke

of Montpensier.

|| Peref. observes, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both hers and madam De Nemours's visit; and relates a very extraordinary conversation that passed between this prince and her; at the end of which, madam de Montpensier, whose hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, she wished that it had been her brother the duke of Maienne who had let down the bridge for his majesty. "Ad-zokers, replied the king, he might possibly have made me wait a long time, and I should not have entered so early." This lady, pursued he, hearing the populace cry, *Long live the king*, said, laughing, that Brissac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years had made but one cuckoo sing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thousand parrots sing in Paris. L'Etoile, ann. 1594.

The



The king had not yet found an opportunity to converse with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aside to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, even to the minutest incidents; to which he listened with the utmost attention. He accused himself of being the cause of Du Rollet's unseasonable attempt, by not acquainting me with the proposals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard against all that could have happened from that quarter.

The king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpensier, or the baron De Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himself by quite different maxims from those princes, who, in such cases, instead of submitting to make use of prudent measures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by silencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the presence of these two noblemen, the same relation I had just now done, as if it were for the first time; and to give them to understand, that the conclusion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their sacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, said, with some emotion, that he would rather lose Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injustice to two persons whom he greatly esteemed. Montpensier and Biron were so affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly resign their pretensions. Henry thanked them, and, as an equivalent, gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced;  
but

1594. but Villars's generosity changed this disposition: and to Biron a marechal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thousand livres in money, to indemnify him for his loss.

The reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts \*, of the university, and other corporations of the city of Paris; whose early submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their submissions to him.

Villeroi was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places † of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-Plessis his friend, and Sancy ‡, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months space, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maienne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and set a thousand springs in motion to protract, till the last extremity, his separation from his old friends, he at last concluded a treaty § almost after all the rest,

\* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

† Pontoise, &c.

‡ Jaqueline de Harlay-Sancy.

§ This circumstance in our Memoirs is positively contradicted by De Thou, who says, book cviii.

that Villeroi's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majesty would not suffer it to be made public, because he was desirous that Villeroi should make use of his influence over the duke of Maienne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the same opinion; and Cayet, who and



and obtained the post of secretary to the king, in recompense for that he had given up. 1594.

The day after the king's entry into Paris he thought proper to make me set out for Rouen, since he could not go thither himself. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of three hundred men. La-Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the house that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the sieur De Martinbault, the finest in the whole town, and, by Villars's orders, furnished magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and La-Chapelle

likewise supports it elsewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroi's letter to the duke of Maëenne, dated the 2d of January in the same year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he casts a kind of reproach upon this minister. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royalists, Villeroi, whose design was to inform the duke of Maëenne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be published, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, advises Maëenne to consider in earnest of a peace for the party in general, and himself in particular, "Because," says he, "their cause is desperate;" and adds, "We have lost all confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, book vi. pag. 293.

With the key that De Thou and other historians have given us to Villeroi's secret transactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of those words which they would impute to him as a crime, is easily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in speaking to the duke of Maëenne he could not have expressed himself otherwise. Indeed if on this occasion Villeroi could be charged with any fault, it was in not discovering

a little more generosity when he had so good an opportunity for it; for besides those rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his son. But what French nobleman in those times, or even what man, however little distressed in his circumstances, could boast of being exempted from this reproach? Father de L'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and selfish disposition of Villeroi. "Henry IV." says he in his Journal, "going one day, with twelve or fifteen of his courtiers, to partake of a slight collation with Villeroi, said to them, when they were seated at table, My friends, we are at an ordinary, let us fare well for our money, for we have an host that will make us pay dear for our entertainment." I do not think it will be necessary for the future to obviate all those invectives which the duke of Sully, in the sequel of these Memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly serviceable to this kingdom, till his death in the year 1617, having possessed the posts of minister and secretary of state under four successive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

1594. did not approve of such a remarkable distinction. They were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken so much umbrage at my first journey, that they made use of all their credit with the governor to prevail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

La-Font, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, apprised me also, that they were that very night appointed to sup with the governor; as were likewise the abbé Tiron, the president Boquemare, Medavy, and D'Hacqueville, two counsellors of the parliament, and some others. I was resolved to take this opportunity to declare myself; and La-Font having assured me, that the admiral would not be displeased with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confusion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had just happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his guests; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not scruple to interrupt their conversation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myself to sup with him, having some news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended scheme and acted in concert with me, told me coolly, that having so many people to sup with him that night, he was afraid I should not find the party well assorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to any set of company, and I was persuaded (the animosity of party aside) those two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleasure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy replied, with an easy air, that he would be very glad to hear how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals; adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeness. “ By what I ob-  
“ serve,



“ serve, you will oblige me to treat you all,” said Villars; adding an apology for the meanness of his entertainment. 1594.

The rest of the company approaching, the president Boquemare pressed me to declare my news; but I would say nothing till we were seated. “ I am,” said the admiral (placing himself first at the middle of the table) “ a very bad master of the ceremonies.” I was resolved not to use any with Don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewise supported by his rank; lest therefore he should accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occasion, when I represented the king’s person, might have had some consequence, I seated myself, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of his merit: to which he answered with great politeness. La-Chapelle observing to him, that the place I held at table was a type of that the king possessed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural course, “ I perceive it,” said the Spaniard, “ and “ I am afraid this precedence is but a bad augury “ for us; however, it shall not hinder us from “ being merry, and drinking to the health of our “ masters, who are not enemies, since there is no “ war declared between them.” This answer was equally wise and politic; and, during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation with great spirit and understanding, seemed charmed with the king’s fine qualities, and praised him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a priest named Dadré\*, were silent while this subject was discussed.

The whole company either were, or seemed to be, highly pleased with the entertainment of the

\* John Dadré, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

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evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with madam De Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and very harsh language to him. But this governor was not a man to be easily intimidated or induced to alter his resolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was necessary they should retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a safe conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to bestow. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity with them: and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent La-Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the king, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I never experienced a more perfect satisfaction than what arose from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom so considerable a service; nor enjoyed a more tranquil sleep than that which the succeeding night afforded me. The next morning early I hastened to Villars, at St. Ouen, whom I found walking in the great square, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal streets, was filled with such a prodigious concourse of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that



that Perdriel, D'Isencourt, La-Font, and the soldiers whom the governor had sent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a passage: the joy was general, and diffused itself on every face. 1594.

I went up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Medavy and the president Boquemare: after the accustomed salutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good catholic, it was time he should give him some testimonies of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majesty's service; and that if, to make an open profession of it, nothing more was necessary than to put on the white scarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no sooner put it on, than, without further thought, "Come on," cried he, with a transport which marked his character, the league is, to cry *Long live the king*. The profound silence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an universal acclamation of *Long live the king*: at the same instant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the discharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general shout a noise capable of inspiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a house in the city that was not shook by it. "The sound of these bells," said I to the governor, "suggests to us to go and give thanks to God in the church of Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was sung there with great solemnity, and followed by the celebration of the mass, at the beginning of which I retired. As soon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the sovereign courts, all the officers of the army and magistrates of the city were invited. Orders were sent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier D'Oise

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D'Oise \* commanded, and to all those places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

It was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the king of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send some of his counsellors to re-establish the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my services, and to bring me their present, which consisted of a side-board of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thousand crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his majesty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king styled him his cousin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court in terms which promised him a most gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as soon as possible.

The admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himself; as for me, I set out before, and lay the first night at Louviers, where I had the following adventure with Bois-rosé, whom I did not know.

This gentleman having learned by public report that the king had given Villars the fort of Fescamp, and heard no mention made of any recompence that was to be bestowed upon him, resolved to complain of this hardship to the king; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from Du Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, ap-

\* George de Brancas Villars, chevalier D'Oire, the admiral's brother.



peared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention. Bois-rosé believing me to be still at Rouen, could not know it but by inspiration, and did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to Du Rollet's. He entered my chamber, and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron De Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the duke De Montpensier, and marechal Biron, to admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with so much emotion, so many oaths and menaces against this baron De Rosny, that I was never so well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occasion.

When he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the baron De Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the king's express command; and that his majesty would not fail to repair his loss of Fescamp, by a recompence wherewith he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far as to promise him to serve his resentment against that baron of whom he complained so bitterly; on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron De Rosny, he would confess that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to injustice. I took leave of him saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loss of Fescamp. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the baron De Rosny; but having enquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the stair-case, he was thunderstruck to

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hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse again instantly, went to another inn, and set out with all possible expedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and secure himself against the bad offices he expected from me, by some powerful protector.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as an irreconcilable enemy, I with more tranquility pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his usual custom, obliged me to inform him of the minutest particulars. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, on account of an ancient quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him, and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surpris'd him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, a company with an appointment, and two thousand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for so much; but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution; and afterwards bound him more closely to me, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in Normandy, when the king had made me grand master of it.

I concealed nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side-board of gilt plate. He was astonished  
one



one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his majesty, as a thing which belonged to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never on such occasions to accept of any gift from his subjects, while I continued in his service.

And here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which I am persuaded will not be thought a well concerted stratagem to gain greater riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who for so long a time had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it; and notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future I doubt will supply many more.

Interest therefore being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that in this respect there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, which those who bestow, have always in view the indemnifying themselves some time or other, either at the king's or the people's expence. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention

1594. of those who make us these presents, (it is to my successors that I address myself now) much less can we on our own who receive them; and let us accustom ourselves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our master's profit, and our own, unless, as I have observed before, it should be himself who bestows gifts on us; and his liberality will always go so far as to leave us no cause to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But unfortunately, being accustomed to calculate and to see immense sums pass through our hands, we are led insensibly to consider as a small matter those that suffice to raise a fortune for one individual.

The king did not scruple to own that he was not used to this sort of reasoning; and that if this system, simple as it was, could be once established in the finances, it would be a sure method of enriching both the king and the state; a method that before and since has been ardently sought for in vain. He would not have accepted the side-board, but to accommodate himself to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This present became publicly known, because he granted me a writing\*, in which it was specified, that this side-board was a present made by the city of Rouen to his majesty, who had bestowed it upon me; and the next day this prince sent me three thousand crowns, in his own strong box, to make

\* Rosny's disposition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he trusted the finances to his care, he desired him to receive no present whatever without his knowledge; and when Rosny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being so desirous that he should find his advantage in serving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to those perquisites, to encourage him to persevere in his

integrity. But Rosny never received them till they were duly registered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of this prince towards him; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abusing his favour to empty his coffers. Peref. pag. 227. This writer as well as the rest of the world were, through the duke of Sully's modesty at that time, ignorant that he himself was the contriver of this judicious scheme.

me



me sensible that such an action in a minister should not go unrewarded. I now fulfil his views by informing the public of this double donation. 1594.

Admiral Villars appeared soon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen, some of whom were of the greatest families in France; but people soon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horses, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generosity and modesty, in which indeed true riches consist, although they are seldom possessed by the same person. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepest respect, and threw himself at his feet. "Admiral," said the king, in pain at this posture, and raising him hastily, "such submission is due only to God;" and resolving to elevate as much as the admiral had humbled himself, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a discernment so just as gave them new merit. The admiral, by protestations of respect, and devotion to his service, endeavoured to stop the course of those praises; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpensier, he went up to him, and, kissing his hand, acknowledged him his superior, resigning to him his government of Rouen with so good a grace, that this prince, who had at first received him coldly, being charmed with his generosity, embraced him several times; and from that moment received him into the number of his most valued friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the same manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for surrendering. Those of Lyons and Poitiers were the most considerable. A strange fall for the duke of Nemours\*! This ambitious man suffered the

\* Charles Emanuel of Savoy, and Anne D'Est, widow of Francis duke of Nemours, son of James, of Lorraine, duke of Guise.

1594.  chimerical project of making himself king of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which the public hatred, and the opposition of his own brother, the duke of Maienne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom, but the Lyonnois\*, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign, who treated them already like a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention however of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint Sorlin†, the duke of Nemour's youngest brother, interesting Spain in his cause, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to separate openly for the league; and calling in colonel D'Ornano to their assistance, they declared openly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours in the dirt, burnt with insulting raillery, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with this inscription on her forehead, *The league*; and allowed

\* Perefex supposes the duke of Maienne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half brother. What the duke of Sully says here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects: he is allowed by all the historians, to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to

have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de Saint Sorlin, his brother, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monsieur De Nemours, p. 23. and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299, and other historians.

† Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint Sorlin.

only



only three months time to all the little towns dependant upon Lyons, to return to their duty. 1594.

The duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult; and apprehending something worse than confinement from his pretended subjects, to effect his escape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he resembled in his stature, and going out of his apartment with his close-stool pan in his hand, passed through the antechamber where the guards were, without being known, because he turned his face aside, as if to avoid the bad smell; from thence he stole into the street, and gained the fields; too happy, after so much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had destined for the seat of his glory; and convinced by sad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing so difficult as to make effects answer our desires.

Ambition made also another madman. Balagny \* seeing himself governor of Cambray, a place by its situation of great importance for the king, had the boldness to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of sovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his request. Hence he flattered himself that he should see his name increase the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himself in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to have done so, by exhausting his purse to appear with magnificence at court, and to send to the siege of Laon two thousand arquebusiers, and three hundred horse. But the glory of this new potentate was of short duration; he, as well as Nemours, split upon the common rock so fatal to ambitious men, who can never be persuaded to believe, that the best concerted schemes are those which afford only moderate advantages, but those advantages

\* John De Montluc, bastard of John De Montluc, bishop of Valence.

1594. subjected to no changes, and secured from all dangers.

The Spaniards seeing that in the center of the kingdom every thing slipped through their hands, resolved to stop the torrent by some important blow, and laid siege to La-Capelle. The king did not balance a moment upon the necessity of leaving all his domestic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His soldiers however were not in the same disposition; weary of war, they sought only to lose the remembrance of it in retirement and ease: so much time therefore was wasted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a small body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the siege so far advanced, and the count of Mansfield who commanded it, so advantageously posted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great strength, he flattered himself that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the rest of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw succours into the place, or force the besiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of those times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been so sparing of provisions, ammunition, and soldiers, to man his garrison, that he was obliged to surrender much sooner than with a contrary conduct he need to have done, and thus saw himself ruined by his avarice.

The king, by way of reprisal, invested Laon\*: he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already so strong by its situation and fortifications, into a condition sufficient to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du Bourg†

\* In Picardy.

† He chose rather to go out of the Bastile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black

scarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. F. de L'Etoile. Cayet, vol. II. pag. 691. He was called Antony Du



was governor of it; one of the best and most experienced officers the duke of Maienne had in his army: the duke's second son, the count of Sommerive\*, with a great number of the nobility, was shut up there. The king therefore, considering that, on this occasion, he had his military reputation to sustain, a reputation to which he owed all his success, neglected no care or attention, to accomplish his enterprize.

I attended him joyfully to this siege, and was charged, according to my taste, with the direction of a battery of six pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder De Born†, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the absence of the count de la Guich‡ grand master, and consented to take me for his colleague. Scarce had I taken possession of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne§, with d'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun those secret practices against him which afterwards had like to have brought him to a scaffold; and that many disaffected and seditious persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced, between the university and curates of Paris, on one side, and the jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, might produce dangerous consequences.

Maine, surnamed Du Bourg or L'Espinasse.

\* Charles Emmanuel of Lorraine, count of Sommerive.

† John De Durefort, lord De Born.

‡ Philibert de La Guich, governor of Lyons, was made grand master of the ordnance in the year 1578, in the room of the marechal De Biron.

§ He will be mentioned in the sequel. Charles of Valois, duke of Angouleme, grand prior of

France, son of Charles IX. and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angouleme in 1639. He was son-in-law to Francis de Balzac, Lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta De Balzac, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress of Henry IV. and half sister to the count of Auvergne.

This

1594.

This news convinced his majesty that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with an employment which would oblige me to leave the siege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid shewing him, determined him to propose it to me. The cardinal, without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he said I only could succeed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the cardinal, the king had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majesty Vignoles, Parabere\*, and Trigny, and he chose Parabere. I flattered myself that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeeded by others, and that so soon, that from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in those little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted.

Having received the king's last instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crêpy the first

\* John de Baudean de Parabere.

night,



night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him \* very ill, and as much weakened in mind as body : he embraced me tenderly, and discovered great joy at seeing me ; then ordering his chamber to be cleared, made me sit down by his bedside, that I might hear the many important things he had to say to me. Those he began with gave me no great opinion of the rest ; but they were such as sat nearest his heart, although they consisted only of domestic uneasinesses, and female quarrels, which I am almost ashamed to entertain the public with. A certain lady, named madam De Rosieres, was the cause of them. The cardinal, either through jealousy, or a disturbed imagination, had taken into his head, that she hastened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for sowing dissension between her and the abbé De Bellozanne, her favourite : his only consolation was, that if he did not die, his murderers would. My wife had informed him that this madam De Rosieres was dangerously ill ; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death.

He imparted all these secrets to me with such apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but the full possession, which these extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great measure to hasten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reason ; and he at last was able to speak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to madam De Rosieres, the king was the person of whom he complained with greatest bitterness ; for his mind was in such a state, that he inveighed most against those whom he loved the best. He had asked the king's permission to dispose of his benefices ; and his majesty, he said,

\* The moment he perceived and afterwards to his fine house of himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, the abbey of St. Germain, according to De Thou, book cix.

1594.

had not received his request very favourably, which, he added, could only be occasioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not sincerely attached to the catholic religion; (for how indeed could he be a good catholic, and disoblige a cardinal?) Afterwards, without considering whom it was he was speaking to, he intreated me to defend the romish religion to the king, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to keep up a close correspondence with the pope, to demand the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the dissolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princess, by whom he might have children who would secure the crown to the house of Bourbon, and peace and tranquility to France. The end of this discourse was much more judicious than I had reason to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it must be confessed that Clement the eighth was not only possessed of great wisdom and justice, but also so good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boast of having deceived him by their artifices.

The cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the jesuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made use of to prevail upon me to support them, were founded upon policy and the interest of the king, and so judicious, that I was convinced his understanding was not impaired by sickness, but only on occasions where he was personally concerned. All the steps I took in that affair were in consequence of his eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of banishing the whole society from France in such a conjuncture; for, as we shall soon see, nothing less was in agitation.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was to support, against the superintendant, the old arch-



archbishop of Glasgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbishop bore the name of Bethune \*. The queen of Scotland his benefactress being dead, all he now desired was to spend the short remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country: but in the superintendant he found an enemy, to whose persecutions he was perpetually exposed, and who seemed resolved to drive him, if possible, out of France. I never could discover the true cause of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always shewed to the family of the Guises, from whom the queen † of Scotland his mistress was descended. The cardinal said, that it had no other foundation than the interest he took in whatever concerned the archbishop: and it is certain that, as often as his eminence solicited the superintendant in favour of the old prelate, he seemed to be more eagerly bent upon his destruction. The cardinal therefore intreated me to prevail upon the king to take the archbishop under his protection: he had promised to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within

1594.

\* James de Bethune, archbishop of Glasgow, or Glagow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-six years; having, during fifty-seven years, suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal De Bethune, archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be still seen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amelot de la Houffaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the process that Nicholas Denetz, bishop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully, in which it appears that they unjustly disputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune,

"However this may be," said he, speaking of this archbishop, "the family of Betun in Scotland, from whence were descended the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, and the archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from queen Mary Stuart in France, where he died in 1660, or 1601 (here is an error in the date) is acknowledged by messieurs De Sully, and De Charost, for a branch of their house." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbishop of Glasgow, and the archbishop of St. Andrews' true name was Bethune, and not Betun.

† Mary of Lo<sup>r</sup>rain, daughter of Claude duke of Guise, married in the year 1530 to James Stuart king of Scotland,

or,

1594.

or without the kingdom: indeed he was no longer capable of it, nor could his conduct be justly reproached with any fault. To gain me entirely over to his interests, the cardinal told me that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness in being educated in the protestant religion.

He resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earnestly intreated me to obtain for him his majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of these benefices had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his eminence thought he should make a sufficient atonement both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had finished all he had to say to me, when his physician entered the chamber. Duret \*, for it was he, having recommended silence to his patient, took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the cardinal, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself of this task like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promises of serving his eminence.

During the three days which I passed at Paris, I was sufficiently convinced of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the count D'Auvergne, D'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party: every night they held secret councils against the king's interest and service. Till I should have an opportunity of conferring with his majesty upon the measures neces-

\* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevy.



fary to be taken to suppress this wicked cabal, I 1594.  
 represented to messieurs De Chiverny †, De Pont-  
 carré, De Bellievre, and De Maïsse, that they could  
 not watch too narrowly the motions of these dis-  
 affected persons; and I particularly recommended  
 it to Maïsse, whose diligence I was well acquainted  
 with.

I afterwards applied myself with a particular at-  
 tention to the affair of the jesuits, against whom a  
 process was actually commenced before the parlia-  
 ment, and vigorously pursued by the university  
 and curates of Paris, who accused them with hav-  
 ing monopolized to themselves the education of  
 the youth, and the direction of consciences; re-  
 presented them as a society very pernicious to  
 the state; and proposed their being banished as  
 such from all the dominions of France. It was  
 far from being certain, that all these enemies  
 of the society would triumph over them, even  
 if the king should not interpose his authority.  
 The jesuits, on this occasion, exerted all their  
 power. The party was already so well supported,  
 that, without laying any stress upon the pope,  
 Spain, and their partisans in the league \*, who  
 were not few, one half of the parliament was  
 on their side, and openly solicited in their favour.  
 The cause was at last put into the hands of counsel  
 in the highest fame at the bar: the jesuits retained  
 Duret, and Verforis; and their adversaries Ar-  
 naud and Dollé. In Paris nothing was talked of  
 but these two powerful factions.

I reflected upon what the cardinal de Bourbon  
 had represented to me, That there was no extre-  
 mity to which this order would not proceed, sti-

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny  
 or Chevernny, lord chancellor of  
 France. — Camus de Pontcarré,  
 master of requests. Pomponne de  
 Bellievre. Andrew Aurault Sieur  
 de Maïsse; in the following year he

was made ambassador to Venice.

\* The cardinal de Bourbon, the  
 superintendent D'O, Antony Se-  
 guire, king's advocate, and a great  
 many others, publicly solicited  
 for the jesuits.

1594. mulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their banishment: That by their intrigues they might animate part of Europe against us, make their persecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itself, and bring the king under a suspicion of being secretly attached to that which he had just quitted; which, in the present state of affairs, might have very dangerous consequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to resolve upon granting the absolution solicited for at Rome; the king being engaged in one of those enterprizes, the event of which is always so uncertain, and often so dangerous; and, in a word, the catholics who had most power in the kingdom, as well those who were at Paris, as those that filled the court, fearing, or seeming to fear, for their own interest, that they had not yet sufficiently provided for the security of the romish religion in France. I was sensible that messieurs De \* Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expressed themselves to this purpose, and had used all their endeavours to communicate their apprehensions to the cardinal of Bourbon, by means of D'Entragues, D'Humiers, Des Sourdis, and others. It is not my design to impute here any bad intention to these persons; but it is certain, that amongst these zealous catholics there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not propagate these sort of discourses till he had lost all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

Be this as it will, prudence, I thought, required that the authority of the absent king should not be exposed for a quarrel between priests and theologians: and did not doubt but his majesty, in such a case, would chuse the most moderate side. I therefore declared to the council, that the king did not think the accusations, which were brought against the jesuits, of sufficient importance to authorise any harsh treatment of them; and that his

\* Henry D'Orleans, duke of Longueville.



majesty would be determined by their future behaviour to the state and himself, whether he should banish them, or permit them to continue in France: and that till he had given more positive orders concerning them, he absolutely forbid any violent proceedings against those fathers; that no invectives should be permitted in the pleadings against them; and even that their cause should be tried in full court. No person expected to find in me a protector of the jesuits; and I may say, without vanity, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been useless, although I had not strengthened it with the king's authority. In effect, no farther progress was made in this affair.

The respect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me resolve to speak to the superintendant in favour of the archbishop of Glasgow; though I knew well what I had to expect from a man so little solicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngest brother had augmented. I hoped to find more justice from the king, and I hastened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who continued still extremely ill.

At Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned, that the duke of Maïenne, being in constant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with some troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a supply of one hundred horse and two hundred arquebusiers into Laon; that the first was defeated by Givry, and the second by the count of Soissons, whose turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His majesty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon: he asked me if I was not surpris'd to find

1594. him in bed at such an hour: this bed, however, was only two mattresses upon the bare ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one continued wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; these he ordered to be changed in my presence, "That you may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought, and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it; for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which he made me bring to the bedside. His majesty, desirous of authorising what I had done, ordered Beaulieu-Rusé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was addressed to the chancellor, regarded the jesuits, and contained only a repetition of what I had said. In the second, he informed D'O, that it was his intention the archbishop of

Glas-



Glasgow should enjoy the only two abbeyes \* he had in France peaceably, and justified this prelate's past conduct by the gratitude he owed his benefactors. The third, to the cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, secretary of state, who made known to his eminence, that the king would approve of the disposition he should make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by signing himself the form he should send him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and customs of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an assurance of his protection and friendship; and as a proof of his confidence, sent the two others under cover to him, that he might transmit them himself to the persons they were directed to; and had the complaisance to acquaint him with the contents. I desired Du-Peirat, whom the king sent with these three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impression upon his mind, to free himself from all his domestic uneasinesses.

These affairs were but just over before the arrival of messieurs De Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouquieroles, and others whom the king had sent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had caused to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them to shew his own skill: they could not agree, and a dispute insensibly arose amongst them: marechal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an assuming air, and a superiority of accent which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his.

\* Notre-dame de l'Abbie, in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoise.

1594.



The king, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three spies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maienne and the count of Mansfield had resolved, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escort, with a design to surprise the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter into the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for contestation, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the escort and the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of twelve hundred French infantry, all chosen men, eight hundred Swiss, three hundred light horse, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's household. I asked the king's permission to go along with this detachment, which he refused me several times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

We began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuscade. Marechal Biron detained all the passengers we met on the great road, who he thought might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere

to



to Laon was covered with so long a file of soldiers, and such a vast quantity of baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing else but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That instant I perceived several of the most resolute amongst us to look pale, and whisper to each other, that it was necessary to make our retreat. This, many of us opposed; and the commander declaring himself for this last opinion, it was agreed upon by a plurality of voices, that some one of the troop should be sent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he saw. Fouque-roles, whose valour and prudence was well known, was chosen, with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this seemingly formidable line was composed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, escorted by four squadrons of one hundred horse each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred musqueteers, an equal number of Spanish infantry brought up the rear.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we should attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the forest, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry \*, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained so positively, that there was less danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marechal Biron into this opinion. At first this method succeeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as soon as they were attacked, though at the beginning they shewed great resolution, and retired to the sides of the waggons: but we soon

\* Anne D'Anglure, baron of Francis-de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Givry. He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and Claude de L'Isle, sieur de Marivault. greatly lamented by Henry IV.

1594. found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron sent to attack them, and fired upon them with such excellent order as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the least dangerous. The onset was so terrible that the enemy's foot were forced to retire, and, like the other squadrons, take shelter in the midst of the carts, from whence they still continued to defend themselves: in the mean time, the Spanish battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itself in such a manner, that it was supported on all sides by the cavalry and the waggons, without losing the assistance of the first battalion: they made so vigorous a defence, that all Biron's intreaties and menaces could not hinder our six hundred horse from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiss and French infantry, who took their place, found equal resistance. The battle lasted a long time. Biron apprehending, that an action which passed so near La-Fere would give time for a considerable supply to be sent to the convoy, if it was not very speedily ended, for a last resource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to dismount, to add to their other arms, which consisted of a sword and pistol, a pike, of which we had brought a great quantity along with us; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiss, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Messieurs de Guित्रy \*, de Montigny, de Marivault, de Trigny, D'Arambure, de La-Curée, de Lopes, D'Heures, and

\* This is not John de Chaumont de Guित्रy, who has been so often mentioned in the History, and in these Memoirs; he died in the year 1592. See his panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The person mentioned here was,

according to Cayet, called so, because he married the heiress of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 23. But Cayet is mistaken; John de Chaumont left several sons, who bore arms in the king's service.

others,



others, advanced in this manner at the head of <sup>1594.</sup> three hundred foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. They charged us with such fury that the pike and fusée became useless; we fought hand to hand, and even wrestled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms \*, fled for shelter to the woods and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no less than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few prisoners. Those persons that were of any distinction in the cavalry had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the woods, lest we should be surprised and put into disorder by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of those provisions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obstacle, all the enemy's baggage, but so pillaged by the soldiers, and so carelessly looked after, notwithstanding the commander's strict orders concerning it, that above four hundred war or baggage horses were lamed.

Biron, with the same supercilious air which he had assumed to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having a subject so copious to discuss, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not that on such occasions silence is merit, would say to enhance the greatness of his victory. Indeed his discourse seemed to

\* La Curée, who was a good judge in these matters, attributes the Spaniards defeat to their custom of using too long swords, and waist-belts too short. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi.

1594.



insinuate, that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head. Experience has shewn that this haughtiness which borders a little upon boasting, of itself sufficiently in the French taste, commonly succeeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to seem sure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this disposition; and he had found very happy consequences from it, on those hazardous occasions, when the soldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the present danger. Hence a seeming confidence of success became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marechal Biron, carried that confidence so far as to become insupportable to all the others, and even to the king himself, who was not on this occasion the less indulgent.

The obliging reception which his majesty gave to Biron, and those that had followed him, created great jealousy in the courtiers, who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his last action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himself alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king discovered his thoughts of it freely to me, and seemed on many accounts greatly discontented with this marechal. His majesty told me that, after so many causes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the discoveries he had just made of the correspondence he carried on with messieurs D'Epernon, and D'Auvergne, he could not resolve to trust him with the care of a place so near the Low Countries as Laon, which ought only to be given to a man \*

\* This government was given to Marivault,

whose



whose fidelity had been tried; but he feared, he said, that Biron would keep no measures after this refusal, and would openly join the party against him, or what was still more dangerous, continue near his person, while he secretly sided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was persuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived this marshal had sought my friendship for some time, doubtless with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother, and mademoiselle De Saint-Geniès \*, my niece, who was one of the greatest fortunes in France; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendship, to penetrate into his designs.

The great convoy being defeated, the king, without any obstacle, continued the siege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maienne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being disheartened by this bad success, talked of nothing less than coming to force the lines of the besiegers, as soon as they had received some troops they were in expectation of. Biron treated this news with contempt; but his majesty, who neglected nothing, was not easy about it till Givry, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, escorted by three hundred horse, with strict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the situation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a single company of them on this side the Oise; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the justness of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a house dependent upon the domain of Navarre, and situated in the midst of the forest, where he remembered

\* Daughter of Elias de Gontault, Navarre, and of Jacqueline de lord De Badefou, and Sain-Genies, Bethune, monsieur de Rosny's governor of Bearn, viceroy of sister,

1594. to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheese, during the time that in his youth he had resided in the castle of Marle; and he still promised himself great pleasure in seeing it again.

About thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where, as he had passed part of the preceding night in visiting as usual the trenches, batteries, and mines, he fell asleep as soon as he had dined: his good constitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accustomed him to sleep in any place, and when he pleased, and to wake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickest part of the forest\*, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noise which came from that side near La-Fere drew all our attention; it seemed to be a confused mixture of human voices, smacking of whips, neighing of horses, and a noise like the distant sound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we saw distinctly, eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noise: that which we had heard proceeded from the servants and vagabonds who followed, and those that conducted a considerable convoy of artillery which guarded it. Extending our view as far as it was possible, so great a number of troops appeared to us to file off after these waggons, that we did not doubt but the enemy's whole army was there.

We returned immediately, and found the king awake, shaking a plum-tree, of whose fruit he seemed very fond. "Faith, sir, said we, some men that have passed just now, will prepare other plums for you not quite so easy of digestion." We explained ourselves in few words; and the king the more readily believed us, having,

\* The forest of Folambray.



as he told us, heard a noise during the space of a quarter of an hour, which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himself so ill of his commission) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majesty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go instantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a list of which he always carried in his pocket) to spread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmost expedition to his quarter, while at the same time others were sent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and post them between the same quarter and the trenches. He gave these orders as he was mounting his horse, and although he rode with great swiftness, he continued giving them to all he met, with the same justness and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Such was this prince's quickness of apprehension, and admirable presence of mind, that nothing escaped him; whereas any other, in the same situation, instead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemies upon their arrival found every one prepared for them; to which perhaps the whole army owed its preservation: for it must be confessed that, if the enemies cavalry, which at the same instant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themselves into squadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the soldiers into a consternation, which, the king and part of the officers being absent, must infallibly have happened by an effect of the first surprise; it would have been easy for them, amidst that sudden confusion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the rest into their power.

This example is alone sufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to possess that quality of the mind which takes in all possible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with

1594. with the names, abilities, good and bad qualities of all the officers, as well as the different bodies which compose his army, and in his turn to be known by it for him of all the general officers, whose advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuse in any difficult conjuncture to follow, as the wisest and best; to give that advice with firmness, but without the ostentation which seems to arise from the certainty of having found out the best; to inspire them with a fondness for their occupation; to render their discipline pleasing, by never oppressing them with orders, but at the same time to accustom them never to expect that those already established will on any occasion whatever be dispensed with or diminished; in a word, to possess the art of making himself be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inspiring that timidity which keeps them silent, when by a seasonable hint they might assist the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders.

Notwithstanding the expedition the king used on this occasion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have suffered a considerable shock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durst not suffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the forest, that one part might be deprived of the assistance of the other, in case the king should be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened also, that the march of this army was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which embarrassed them greatly. The waggons split in pieces, when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horses, overspread the road, caused a second embarrassment still greater: and lastly, the person whom the duke of Maienne had sent to reconnoitre



noitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return so speedily as he might have done. 1594.

The king took advantage of all these delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were sufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the rest of his army in order of battle before, when the enemies, who no longer hoped to surprize him, gave him time. That day was employed on each side in chusing the most advantageous posts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage; they dreaded the king's ascendant, and our cavalry which was almost all composed of gentlemen. Their whole design by this motion was to oblige the king to raise the siege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at least, in the confusion caused by their arrival, three thousand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards, that we were informed of it by some prisoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day; our two camps being so near that we heard distinctly the sound of their trumpets, and the shouts of their soldiers.

In the midst of the ground that separated us from the enemies, there was one single hill almost round, which, with regard to the besieged city, might be of great importance, if the enemy should possess themselves of it. The king, who had sent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to support a regiment that were by his order to post and fortify themselves there. I caused a hut to be erected for myself, and when the king came to visit this post, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy making a shew of greater resolution than the evening before, began a skirmish with all their small shot, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thousand small

1594. small arms were fired, but with so little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to sup with me, assured me that they had not twenty men slain, nor more than twice that number wounded.

Night coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat, without being discovered, to La-Fere. The king suffered them to fly, contenting himself with the disgrace they had drawn upon themselves by this ridiculous attempt.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.























